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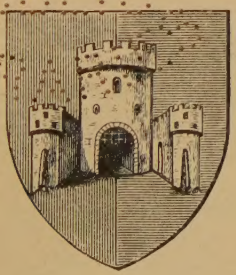
Historic Towns

EXETER

BY

EDWARD A. FREEMAN, D.C.L., LL.D.

Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford



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PREFACE.

THE present volume, I wish it distinctly to be understood, does not represent any independent research into the Exeter archives. Of those archives, both municipal and ecclesiastical, I know enough to be able to say that they are of very high importance; and it is to be hoped that they may some day be given to the world in the series put forth by the Master of the Rolls. But to study them as they must be studied in manuscript would call for the offering of no small part of a life, and such an offering it is clear that I cannot make. In this little book I have simply followed printed accounts and documents, strengthened by much help from friends who have made the archives their study. Still, even under this disadvantage, there may be some gain in putting the history of a city like Exeter, which has been dealt with here so as to make this volume in some sort introductory to the other volumes of this

series, into the hands of one to whom the history of Exeter comes mainly as part of the history of England, and the history of England mainly as part of the history of Europe. And the peculiar history of Exeter perhaps gives some special opportunities for this kind of treatment.

Thanks to Mr. Stuart Moore, we have the letters of John Shillingford well available. But we ought to have all the writings of that most remarkable man John Hoker printed and brought together. The modern history of Exeter has grown something like a mediæval chronicle. Hoker wrote from the old records. From him the elder Izacke pilfered unblushingly, but he continued the story to his own time, so that for his own time he is a contemporary authority. The younger Izacke continued his father; Jenkins, a very inferior writer to any of them, continued him. Their story I have had always before me, as also the writings of Dr. Oliver, of whom one may venture to say that the first edition of his 'History of Exeter' is more useful than the second. I have also been largely helped by much personal kindness, above all by that of William Cotton, Esq. of Exeter, whose own topographical works, 'Gleanings from the Exeter City Records' and his 'Elizabethan Guild,' are of the highest value. I have

also to thank the Rev. R. H. Barnes, Prebendary of Exeter, for much help, and my unwearied friend Mr. Dawkins, for making a survey of the walls and of the lines of the city from his point of view.

I have no doubt that local knowledge will be able to suggest and correct many things, and all suggestions and corrections will be received with real thankfulness.

16 St. Giles, Oxford:
November 11, 1886.

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EXETER.

CHAPTER I.

THE EARLY HISTORY.

A.D. c. 47–876.

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Each of the leading cities and towns of England has some distinctive character of its own, which parts it off from all others, and which may almost pass for its definition. Most of them indeed admit of a double definition. They fall into classes each of which has a marked character, while each again has its own character which parts it off from other members of its own class. Thus one group is formed of those towns of Roman origin which have throughout all English history kept a certain position as heads of shires, heads of dioceses, or in some other way places of importance. In this class come the elder and the younger capital

of the kingdom, Winchester and London, and the southern and northern metropolis of the Church, Canterbury and York. With these come Lincoln, Gloucester, Chester, Rochester, Leicester, Bath, Chichester, and the southern Dorchester. We must add Colchester, one of the most historic towns in the island, though it has never been the head of a shire, or the seat of any but a suffragan bishop. We must also add Carlisle, as a Roman city, which has been for more than seven hundred years the head of an English shire and diocese, though it has not, like the rest, remained a continuous English possession ever since its first English occupation. For each of these towns it is not hard to find a distinctive definition. Carlisle, for instance, has one special character, as having been for ages the bulwark of England against the Scot; it has another, as the one city within the bounds of the present England which keeps a purely British name. Another group might be formed of Roman towns which are still inhabited, but which have not kept the same unbroken history. Some have risen, some have fallen. Some live now only as villages or small towns, like Ilchester, Castor, and Dorchester on the Thames. Manchester, on the other hand, of no special note in early times, has risen to be one of our foremost cities, outstripping in its path its own former head at Lancaster. Lancaster and Worcester are towns of Roman origin which play no part in the earliest history, but which rose to local eminence and kept it. There are again Romaa sites which are utterly forsaken, and others which are represented only by a more modern neighbour. So Pevensey represents Anderida; so Norwich represents

Icenian Venta; so, in a much later age, New Salisbury supplanted Old. Other towns have no Roman or British story; they are English settlements which, through some local advantage, outstripped their fellows. So Nottingham, Oxford, Bristol, rose to importance in earlier times; so Birmingham, the northern Bradford, and a crowd of others, have risen to importance in later times. Other towns have risen round monasteries, or more rarely round the churches of bishops. The monastic towns have sometimes grown into more or less of importance, like Coventry, the head of the class, like Bury Saint Edmunds, like Peterborough, whose time of growth has come in our own day. But they have more commonly stayed in the rank of market towns, like Crowland and Selby, or in that of the smallest class of parliamentary boroughs, like Evesham and Tewkesbury. While abbots' towns are many, bishops' towns are few; but to Wells and Lichfield we may add Sherborne and Crediton, while Durham, where church and city were purposely founded together, rather forms a class by itself. While these towns arose round a church, Windsor, Richmond, Dunster, are towns which in the like sort arose round a castle. The Kentish and South-Saxon Cinque Ports are cases of trading and naval towns which grew of themselves, and some of which have sunk of themselves, according to the shiftings of trade and the physical changes of the coast. In distinction from them, the King's-Town-on-Hull stands almost alone as a great and abiding haven called into being at the bidding of a single far-seeing king. Other groups might be added, and we might form groups at cross purposes to each

other. We have simply gathered examples of the way in which towns fall into a few marked classes, while each of the most important keeps a character of its own within its own class. Such is preeminently the case with the city which forms the subject of the present volume. Isca Damnoniorum, Caer Wisc, Exanceaster, Exeter, keeping essentially the same name under all changes, stands distinguished as the one great English city which has, in a more marked way than any other, kept its unbroken being and its unbroken position throughout all ages. The City on the Exe, in all ages and in all tongues keeping its name as the City on the Exe, allows of an easy definition. It is the one great city of the Roman and the Briton which did not pass into English hands till the strife of races had ceased to be a strife of creeds, till English conquest had come to mean simply conquest and no longer meant havoc and extermination. It is the one city of the present England in which we can see within recorded times the Briton and the Englishman living side by side. It is the one city in which we can feel sure that human habitation and city life have never ceased from the days of the early Cæsars to our own. It is the one city of Britain which beheld the paganism of the Roman, but which never, save in one moment of foreign occupation, beheld the heathendom of the Teuton. Here alone we can say with confidence that Jupiter and Mars were once worshipped by the citizens of Isca, but that Woden and Thunder were never worshipped by any citizen of Exeter.

The city on the Exe, Caerwisc or Isca Damno-

niorum, has had a history which comes nearer than that of any other city of Britain to the history of the ancient local capitals of the kindred land of Gaul. A site suited for shelter and defence became the Celtic *oppidum*; the Celtic *oppidum*, occupied by the conquerors from Italy, became the Roman *urbs*; and the Roman *urbs* became the head of the *civitas*, the territory of the tribe whose stronghold had become the dwelling-place of the stranger. The Roman city thus formed kept its place through Burgundian, Gothic, or Frankish settlements; and it commonly abides to our own day undisputed head of its own district, keeping much more of the character of a capital than is kept by any English shire-town. Still, though a capital, it is essentially a local capital; it has been the head of a duchy or county once practically independent, but it has never been more. Cities that have been the heads of kingdoms or of ecclesiastical provinces form a separate and higher class. Exeter, head of its own shire, but never head of England or of Wessex, ranks with Le Mans, Chartres, the Arvernian Clermont. As it does not rank at home with Canterbury and York, with Winchester and London, so it does not rank with primatial Lyons and Rheims, with kingly Arles and Bourges, or with Rouen and Poitiers, heads of duchies that were kingdoms all but in name. But, like its Gaulish fellows, it has kept its position as a local capital more fully than any other English city of its own class. To this day, both in feeling and in truth, Exeter is something more than an ordinary county town.

The position of the city is such as might be looked for from its history. It answers all the objects, military

and commercial, which were sought after by the founders of ancient settlements. Neither in Greece nor in Italy are the oldest cities immediately on the coast. The neighbourhood of the sea was looked on as dangerous. The town had often no communication with the sea; a haven grew up in later times, and it had often to be joined by walls to the older and inland city. To plant a town directly on the sea marks a later stage that was not reached till the days of the Greek colonies. The British settlement which grew into Roman Isca belonged to an intermediate stage, when the sea itself was still shunned, but when communication with it by means of a navigable river was sought for. In such cases changes of various kinds, especially the increased size of vessels, have often transferred the trade of the ancient city to some point lower down the river. So Newport on the Usk supplanted Caerleon; so Havre de Grace supplanted Harfleur. At Exeter, changes in the river itself did much to take away the trade of the city. It has not indeed been altogether supplanted like Caerleon and Harfleur; but, though vessels still reach its quay, it has long lost its old rank among the seafaring towns of Britain.

The Damnonian Isca thus arose above the river from which it took its name. And its unrecorded founders chose a point which, though not rivalling the lofty sites of many continental and a few English cities, sets Exeter distinctly among the hill cities. The site chosen was a peninsula, connected with ground of its own height to the east by a narrow isthmus. A narrow valley on each side, each drained by a small stream running into the Exe, forms a natural fosse. This, to

the north, has a second natural fosse beyond it; a valley lies beyond the nearer valley, with a narrow ridge parting the two. The hill itself is a real hill, at some points steep and rocky, falling down to the water in a way very unlike the gentle slope of Oxford or Orleans. At the north-east corner it rises with special steepness over the valleys which fence it in. Such a site was indeed a strong one; ditch, wall, citadel, were ready made by the hand of nature. The actual height is not great, and the hill is surrounded on all sides by hills of far greater height. But in days before gunpowder, the site, otherwise so strong, was none the less strong on this account. The spot naturally became a dwelling-place of man. The Briton chose its highest point as the chief stronghold, the chief place of shelter, of his tribe. And even in the days of British independence, the rest of the peninsular ground may well have been covered by a group of dwellings fenced in by some rude earthwork or palisade, and may even have found the benefit of the stream below in the beginnings of trade with other lands. Under the hand of Rome it became all this, and far more. The conqueror made the British site at once a city for his own dwelling and a fortress to keep the conquered tribe in his obedience. The city lived; days came when it fell back into independence, and in the end it passed into the hands of conquerors who were not destroyers, and who have handed it on as a possession for their children to our own day. At every step we seem to be hearing the tale of some immemorial head of a Gaulish tribe, which grew into the Roman city, head of a Roman land, and which passed unresistingly under the rule of the

Burgundian, the Goth, or the Frank. The tale of Isca is utterly unlike the tale of those Roman towns which the Angle or the Saxon laid waste for a season or for ever. It is equally unlike the tale of those purely English towns of recorded or unrecorded origin which have no Roman or British past to look back to.

In one point alone does Exeter differ from those Gaulish cities with which it is so natural to compare it. But that point is eminently characteristic of the history of Britain in all ages. The Gaulish city, the head of the tribe, became, from the first establishment of Christianity, the seat of the bishop, and the land of the tribe became his diocese. So, in the greater part of France, it remained till the great Revolution; so to a great extent it remains still. The tradition of the British islands, Celtic and Teutonic alike, did not in the same way connect the bishop with any particular spot. He was bishop, not of a city, but of a kingdom or tribe, his bishopstool was not necessarily in the chief town, and he most commonly took his name from the people rather than from any town. How far this position of the bishop, common to England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales as we now understand that name, was handed down from days before England was, the thick darkness which hangs over those times makes it hard to say. We hear of bishops of York, London, and Caerleon, but the continental custom could not have been universal. For if Isca had been the seat of a British bishop, the bishopric would surely, like the monastery of Glastonbury, have lived on through the coming of the Christian English. Like others of the chief cities of England, like Lincoln, Norwich, and

Chester, Exeter did not become a bishop's see till the general translation of bishopstools from small towns to great in the latter half of the eleventh century. Of that process the foundation of the see of Exeter was the first example, and the only one before the Norman came.

This difference in the matter of bishoprics has undoubtedly had its effect on the general aspect of French and English cities, and not the least on that of Exeter. The French city commonly either stands high on a hill, or occupies some insular or peninsular site in a river. That is to say, it has grown up on the site of the primæval Gaulish stronghold. When that stronghold grew into a Roman city, its loftiest point was chosen for the temple of the patron god. That temple in after days gave way to the cathedral church. That church is therefore in a marked way the centre of the city, but there is commonly no very clearly marked ecclesiastical quarter. Where there is, it is often because a new town, *la ville*, has grown up and left the ancient *cité* as a quarter mainly ecclesiastical or aristocratic. In England, though there are cases which follow the Gaulish pattern, it cannot be said to be the rule. Where, as at Exeter, the bishopstool was removed to a city already in being, the bishop came in as a new comer who had to find a place for himself and his following. Thus at Chichester one of the four quarters of the original *chester* passed to the bishop, as another did to the earl. At Exeter, a far greater city, the ecclesiastical quarter was of less proportionate extent. Various circumstances have made the church of Saint Peter by far the greatest object in Exeter. But it is not the crown and centre of the city,

like the church of Bourges, or even like the ancient church of London.

And now comes in the great distinction of all between the history of Isca, or of any other city of Britain, and the history of almost any city of Gaul. It comes to this, that there is no history of Isca. We have no record to tell us either when the peninsular hill came under the power of the Roman or when it passed away from his power. But other evidence shows that the occupation came at an early stage of Roman dominion in Britain. The soil of Exeter has supplied Roman coins in abundance, and they go back to the days of Nero and Claudius. Their discovery even sometimes takes a startling form, as when digging reveals, not only the coin but its owner, when a gold coin of Vespasian is found along with the complete impression of a human form, and with the teeth yet abiding. Vespasian indeed, while still only an officer of Claudius or Nero, fills a great part in local legend. Exeter, by the name, not of Isca but of *Penholtkeyre*, was the most ancient of the cities of Britain, before the incarnation of Christ 'a city walled and suburb to the same, of the most reputation, worship, defense, and defensible of all these parties.' The alleged name is a singular mixture of Welsh and English; but something must have given rise to it. The legend tells how, after the death of Claudius, Arviragus threw off the Roman yoke; how Vespasian, sent to win back the land, was beaten back by the British king; how he landed at Totnes, made his way to Penholtkeyre, besieged the city, but being again baffled by Arviragus, betook

himself, by way of Bordeaux and Rome, to the easier conquest of Jerusalem. All this was in the fifteenth century believed of some and doubted of others. There was a real Arviragus somewhat later, in the time of Domitian; but it is more likely that his name was put in by some improver of the story than that any historical campaign between him and Vespasian lurks in the legend.[1] But legend and coins alike connect the names of Isca and Vespasian, and the slight notices that history gives of his British exploits may lead us to believe that it was he who, while Claudius reigned, made Isca an outpost of Rome. But this is as far as we dare go.

It is one of the most striking instances of the general law which affects the whole early history of Britain that, till Isca passed into English hands, we have to put together our feeble attempt at a story only from what we know of the history of other places, or from the surviving relics of the place itself, without any help from written records in any tongue. Geographers like Ptolemy bear witness to its existence, but there is no record of anything that happened there till late in the seventh century. We have no story of Isca such as we should have of any town of Gaul. We have not even such an approach to a story as we have of Eboracum, Londinium, and Camulodunum. In the course of the fourth century Christianity doubtless supplanted paganism at Isca. Early in the fifth century, the rule

[1] The story comes from Geoffrey of Monmouth. It is made use of by John Shillingford in the controversy between the city and the Bishop, of which more anon. (See his Letters and Papers, edited by Stuart A. Moore, F.S.A. Printed for the Camden Society, 1871, pp. 12, 76, 95, 105.)

of Rome assuredly passed away from Isca and left Caerwisc a city of independent Britons. It may even be that that change happened earlier still. The series of coins found at Exeter seems to end with the first British sovereign who crossed into Gaul, with Maximus, the hero of British legend. At any rate, when the last Western Constantine—he who bears the name of Tyrant—passed into Gaul, when Honorius finally absolved the cities of Britain from their Roman allegiance, Caerwisc must have lived on as the head of Damnonia, the chief city of the whole western peninsula of Britain. But the history of the city from Vespasian to Alfred has to be inferred from what we know of the general state of Britain and from a single mention of the town itself. That is, for eight hundred years our knowledge must be patched up from the most meagre of notices.

If then we try to call up a picture of Roman Isca, it can be only by comparing what is left us in modern Exeter with what we see in other places where more has been preserved. In this way Exeter is not worse off than most towns in Britain of whose Roman origin there is no doubt. It is not in England as in Italy and Southern Gaul, where we are disappointed if each town has not some distinct monument of Roman days. Isca is still there in a figure, and its figure is more distinct than that of many other Roman towns. If the Roman walls are not there, there are nearly perfect walls which cannot depart very widely from the Roman line. And the Briton has left yet more visible traces. The defences of the castle hill, the Red Mount of the Norman, are doubtless his work. The hillside was

scarped in two stages; on the outer side the lower scarp needed no artificial ditch; the valley and its stream were there already; the ditch below the upper scarping has been filled up. On the inner side a deep fosse cut off the hill from the town, or rather from the peninsular space where the town was to be. The earth from these ditches and scarpings was used to form an earthwork to defend the highest point of the hill. On this primæval stronghold the Roman entered as his citadel; the peninsular ground below, whether already inhabited or not, now became a fenced city, crossed by the four arms of the Roman *chester*. Two of these arms were supplied by the line of the Ickneld way, which crossed the Exe at the foot of the hill, passed over the peninsula, and went out over the isthmus to the east. Still, if we may judge from the main lines of the city as far back as they can be traced, the Roman Isca, though roughly rectangular, was far from keeping the regular lines of the Roman camp. At the south-east corner, above all, there is nothing to be called a true angle. Either the nature of the ground caused a departure from the accurate pattern or a change was made at some later rebuilding of the wall. The British fortress fixed the north-eastern extent of the enclosure; the isthmus fixed the place of the eastern gate, and a ford in the river fixed the place of the western gate. For some centuries past the main western street has continued the eastern one nearly in a straight line, and for the last century it has led to the modern bridge. But it does not lead to the site of the western gate and of the elder bridge, which stood some way to the south. The more ancient line leading directly to the west

gate has to be made out among small streets. These changes make a picture of Isca harder to call up than a picture of Eboracum. Yet there must have been the usual buildings of a Roman town; there must have been in one age pagan temples, in another Christian churches, within the walls. But we yearn in vain for some glimpse of the life either of pagan or of Christian Isca. We would fain hear a voice from the Damnonian capital when the British Constantine led away the legions into Gaul, when Honorius bade his farewell to Britain, when Germanus came to do spiritual battle with the British heretic, above all, when the dreaded Saxon sea-rovers showed their sails on every coast of the Channel, and no doubt often made their way up the estuary of the Exe. But we can only guess what happened at Isca by what happened elsewhere. How the Roman went, how the Saxon came, how the Briton lived in the space between the going of one master and the coming of another, all is unrecorded. All that we can say with any certainty is that, when British Caerwisc first became English Exanceaster, it received new masters and new citizens, but the old citizens did not pass away; a new tongue was heard within its walls, but the old tongue did not pass away; above all, there was no need to preach a new creed within the conquered city.

We have no record of the date of the West-Saxon occupation of Caerwisc; even an approximate date can be reached only by putting together meagre and incidental notices. But it seems clear that the conquest did not take place till Christianity was firmly established among the conquerors. There is indeed a

wild tale of Geoffrey of Monmouth, repeated by some English chroniclers, which seems to be the Vespasian legend repeated with fresh names. The heathen Penda besieges Exeter in the year 634, and the siege is raised by the Briton Cadwalla. If this story is worth anything, it simply points to Caerwisc as being still a British city in the second quarter of the seventh century. Then there is the local legend of Saint Sativola or Sidwell, whose name lives in the dedication of a suburban church. Her story seems to be placed later in the seventh century, and her worship is anyhow older than the time of Æthelstan. In the local martyrology she is murdered 'in Britannia foras murum civitatis Exoniæ.' If this proves anything, it would point to a time when the city was in English occupation, while the surrounding country was still British. But it is hard to make anything of the saint herself, of her father Benna and her sisters Juthwara and Eadwara. Their names at least must be corruptions of something English.

We are on firmer ground as we follow the course of the West-Saxons towards the West. When Cenwealh, their first Christian king, was baptized in 645, his kingdom, still stretching far beyond Thames, had made but little progress in the south-western peninsula. Ceawlin had only reached the northern Axe; it was Cenwealh himself who in 658 advanced the English frontier to the Parret. After him the progress of the West-Saxons is less clearly marked. In 682 Centwine defeated the Britons and drove them to the sea. If Damnonia was conquered from the north, we could hardly bring the West-Saxons to Caerwisc in the seventh century, perhaps not in the eighth. A letter of Saint Ealdhelm,

written between 675 and 705, speaks of the Damnonian king Gerent as a powerful prince, but gives no hint as to the extent of his dominions. The Chronicles represent Ine as warring with him in 709, while Taunton appears as a fortress, seemingly a border fortress, of Ine's rearing. From all this we should certainly look on Gerent as ruling over all Damnonia, most likely with Caerwisc to his capital. But there are hints which look like an earlier English occupation of the city. Our great missionary to our Teutonic brethren beyond sea, Winfrith, afterwards Boniface, was a native of the West, though there is no evidence older than the fourteenth century for fixing his birth-place at Crediton. His Life by Willibald records his education as a boy in the monastery *Adescancastre*. We can hardly help reading this *at Exanceastre* or Exeter; and Winfrith would hardly be sent to school in a British monastery. Now, if we accept Exeter as the place of his teaching, some important and otherwise unexpected consequences seem to follow. If there was an English monastery at Exeter in the time of Winfrith's boyhood, Exeter must have become English some while before the end of the seventh century. And this is in no wise unlikely, if we suppose the West-Saxon advance into southern Damnonia to be made from the south-east and not from the north-east. Of the conquest of Dorset we have no record; that, and not Somerset, may have been the line of West-Saxon approach, and Isca may have been conquered while Gerent, or princes before Gerent, were reigning over other parts of Damnonia. In this case the West-Saxon conqueror would have made his way to Caerwisc by the same path by which the Norman conqueror made his

way in after times to Exeter. The date we can fix only negatively. The West-Saxons may possibly have made their way towards Damnonia along the southern coast at any time after Cynric's victory at Salisbury in 552 opened the south-western lands to Teutonic advance. But during the second half of the sixth century we know of the West-Saxon arms only as employed in quite other quarters. Ceawlin was pressing towards the city on the Dee, not towards the city on the Exe. It is only under Cenwealh that the steady advance westward begins; one line of conquest only is recorded, but that in no way shuts out another. Wessex had under-kings, and some of them may have pressed on through the land of the Durotriges into the land of the Damnonii, while the head kings were pressing on from Axe to Parret and from Parret to Tone. But such a movement could hardly happen in days when the whole energies of the West-Saxons were turned northward, that is before the days of Cenwealh. That is to say, Caerwisc was not won till Wessex had become Christian; English heathendom never showed itself on the hill of Exeter. Still, unless the advance by way of Dorset was much quicker than the advance by way of Somerset, Exeter could not have been an English possession of any old standing when Winfrith went to school there. The monastery in which he was taught must have been one which, like Glastonbury itself, had but lately passed into English hands.

At the same time, plausible as this argument is, it rests wholly on the not absolutely certain reading of a single name. It is perhaps an excess of doubt not to accept the seemingly direct witness of the Life of

Boniface; yet it obliges us to conceive a whole series of campaigns of which we have no record, and to place them at a date earlier than we should have looked for them. Still there is at least one direct piece of evidence for the earlier date, while there is only presumption for the later. It may then well be that Dorset, and part of Devonshire as far as Exeter, had become West-Saxon ground while part of Somerset remained British. Still the proposition cannot be either asserted or denied with the same confidence with which we assert the battle of Deorham and deny the Damnonian march of Penda. What we may feel sure of is that Exeter was a conquest of Christian and not of heathen Englishmen. The exact date we cannot fix.

But there is one fact recorded by a later writer, and one fact noticed by an ingenious modern observer, which throws some light on the circumstances, if not on the time, of the English conquest of Caerwise. As late as the days of Æthelstan—so his special panegyrist William of Malmesbury directly affirms—Exeter was not purely English; it was a city of two nations and two tongues. Such was the case long after in many towns of Wales and Ireland. In Exeter in the tenth century Englishman and Briton lived side by side within the same walls. This shows that, whenever Caerwise submitted, its British inhabitants obtained very favourable terms from the conquerors, and that again is much the same as saying that it was not taken till after the West-Saxons had become Christians. Further than this, there are signs that, as might be expected, the English and Welsh inhabitants remained locally distinct. There is the fact that the churches in part of the city, a part lying

north of the main Roman line, and in that part only, bear the names of purely Welsh saints. This seems to show that there was a distinct Englishry and Welshry, and withal that the Welshry was on the northern side of the city.[1] The existence of a distinct Welshry, and that on the north side, certainly favours the belief that the West-Saxon advance was made from the south, that the taking of Caerwisc was not part of the series of campaigns on the Axe, the Parret, and the Tone, which are recorded in the Chronicles, but that it was the continuation of those unrecorded campaigns by which the land of the Durotriges and their city Durnovania became English ground.

Still we must remember that all this, though ingenious inference, is not direct proof. We have no historic record of Exeter till late in the ninth century. It then appears as an established and important city of the West-Saxon realm. It is in the days of Alfred that we can begin something like a continuous history of the great city of Western England.

[1] See Mr. Kerslake's paper, 'The Celt and the Teuton in Exeter,' *Archæological Journal*, 1873, vol. xxx. p. 211.

CHAPTER II.

EXETER IN THE DANISH AND NORMAN WARS.

A.D. 876–1069.

First mention of Exeter in history—Danish occupation of 876 and recovery by Alfred—Possible making of the *burh*- Laws of Edward the Elder and Æthelstan passed at Exeter—Driving out of the Welsh by Æthelstan—Danish attack of 1001 beaten off—The city taken by Swegen in 1003—Ecclesiastical events—The monastery founded by Æthelstan—Foundation of the bishopric—Leofric first bishop—Relation of Exeter to the queens—The canons placed under the rule of Chrodegang—Exeter in 1068—Preparations against William—His siege and capture of the city—Foundation of the castle—Baldwin of Moeles—Attempt of Harold's sons—West-Saxon siege of Exeter.

THE recorded history of the city now begins. Hitherto, while its existence has been certain, its fortunes have been matter of inference. But in the year 876 *Exanceaster* stands forth for the first time in English history as a city of the English folk and of the West-Saxon realm. It stands forth as a well-known place which needs no description. But its first appearance is an unhappy one. Exeter is first heard of in the first stage of Alfred's second great war with the Danes. In 876 the heathen army which had overrun Northumberland and Mercia *stole*—so the Chronicle puts it—to the south coast of Wessex. At Wareham they made peace with the King; they gave hostages that they would

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leave his kingdom; they even swore on the holy bracelet, a specially binding pledge which they had never taken before. Notwithstanding this solemn promise, such of them as had found horses made their way to Exeter, and occupied the city. This was late in the year, as it was not till the next year that the mass of the army followed them. Some set out by sea; but their voyage was cut short by a storm off Swanwic or Swanage in Purbeck. The rest, having now found horses, were more lucky. They marched to join their comrades at Exeter. The King rode after them, but they had reached the fastness before him. After their loss at Swanage his power was the stronger; the Danes again swore oaths and gave hostages. And this time they so far kept their oaths that, in time of harvest, they left Wessex for Mercia.

Here, as often in our earliest history, we see clearly what happened; we are not told how it came to happen. A crowd of questions might be asked which concern general rather than local history. For the latter we gain two main points. Exeter was in Alfred's day a fastness, a strong place. The Roman walls of Isca were doubtless still standing, perhaps not carefully repaired or strengthened under either British or West-Saxon occupation. And the word *burh*, so familiar in the military history of the next generation, is not used at this stage. This looks as if the hill which had formed the British stronghold and the Roman citadel did not just now hold that place in the attack and defence of Exeter which it did in after times. Still the walls alone would form a fastness, as the empty walls of forsaken Deva did a few years later. In the warfare

of the next year Exeter is not mentioned; there was fighting in Devonshire, when the Danish Raven was taken, but it did not touch the city. Later in Alfred's reign, in 894, Exeter again stood a Danish siege, but did not again undergo a Danish occupation. The great King came again to the help of the city, and this time he was not too late. At his coming the besiegers withdrew to their ships. But now that special word is used which was not used in the earlier story. It was now a *burh* which the besiegers beset. It may be that, at some time between the first and the second appearance of the Danes before Exeter, the city had been strengthened according to the highest standard of the time. The guardian care of Alfred had turned the mere fastness into something stronger. The English forerunner of the Norman castle was now to arise within the walls. At the north-eastern corner, the neglected hill, the natural akropolis, was again strengthened. Exeter had not yet a castle; that, name and thing, was everywhere the hated work of later invaders. But the natural stronghold of the city was again fortified; Exeter had now a *burh*; and she had just proved the value of her new defences.

It is a striking thought that the first distinctly recorded fact in the history of Exeter should be its occupation for several months by an enemy, and a heathen enemy. To tell us how English towns fared in such a case, we have only the vague wail of the Five Boroughs of central England held down long time under heathen fetters. The doom of heathen bondage and overthrow which British Caerwise had escaped in the fifth and sixth centuries might seem to have come

upon English Exeter in the ninth. But at Exeter, unlike York and Lincoln, the Danish invader, however grievous his sojourn, was but a passing sojourner. He came for a moment; a hundred and thirty years later he came for another moment. But at neither time did he leave any abiding signs of his coming. Exeter never became in any sense a Danish city or Damnonia a Danish land. Yet we should welcome the faintest record of what men suffered and how men felt in the Christian city when for a moment the heathen had come into God's inheritance.

Alfred left the West-Saxon kingdom, and Exeter as part of it, free from Danish enemies and from the dread of them. The conquering warfare of his children was waged in other parts of the island. Under Edward the Unconquered our one record of Exeter is the record of a peaceful meeting of the assembly of the nation, which must have happened early in his reign. We are admitted to listen to the 'deep speech' which an English king held with his Wise Men. The king's speech is recorded, but not the debate which followed. The subject, as ever, is the keeping of the peace of the realm. King Edward speaks as to men neglectful of their duty. He exhorted 'his Witan when they were at Exeter that they should search out how their frith might be better kept than it was aforetime.' He asks who will be in the fellowship that he is in, who will love what he loves, and share what he shares by land and sea. If the debate is lost, the vote is recorded. Fines are imposed on any man who shall deny right to another.

Our next mention of the city comes in the reign

that followed that of Edward, the reign of Æthelstan the Glorious. Now it is that we learn that the city which Alfred rescued from the Dane, and which he again defended against the Dane, was not, after more than two hundred years of English occupation, a purely English city. There was still the separate Welshry on the northern side of the town, and the hill, strengthened by the *burh* of Alfred, must have risen nearly over the dwellings of the conquered race. We might give much to know how the Britons of Exeter felt during the months of Danish occupation. Did national dislike lead them to give help to the invader, or did a common faith bind together Briton and Englishman against the heathen enemies of both? Certain it is that in the days of Alfred's grandson the Britons of Exeter were looked on as by no means satisfactory inhabitants of the West-Saxon city. Æthelstan had to war with the Britons of the farther West, and he not unnaturally deemed that, with such warfare going on, it was not safe to leave the great city of the West ready to be turned at any moment into a British outpost. He therefore in the year 926 removed the British inhabitants from Exeter. One would like to see his own formal language; his special laureate who, early in the twelfth century, records the event indulges in words of what seems needless scorn towards the weaker side. The King is said to cleanse the city from the defilement of a polluted race. As soon as Exeter had become purely English, Æthelstan gave his mind to its further defence. The Roman wall needed rebuilding or repairing. The city was now surrounded by a wall of square stones,

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and was further strengthened by towers.[1] The work of Æthelstan was doubtless of a kind which is by no means uncommon on the continent, where the Roman fashion of masonry is continued for ages after the fall of the Roman power, in some cases indeed down to our own day. Does any part of that work abide? Exeter has stood many sieges, and its walls have undergone well nigh as many patchings as the walls of Rome. Yet they may well have kept the same kind of identity as the walls of Rome and of Colchester. They would keep the same general lines, and, amid much destruction and much repair, there may have been no general rebuilding from the ground. It may even be that here and there, where the masonry still keeps something of Roman feeling, where Roman stones might seem to have been used again, parts of the work of Æthelstan may still be seen.

The work of the Glorious King at Exeter was wound up by holding, like his Unconquered father, a Gemót of the kingdom within the new walls. In the laws passed at an earlier assembly at Greatanley the city is mentioned among those where the King's moneyers were to carry on their craft; Exeter was to have two of them. The laws of Exeter, ordained in a Midwinter Gemót, refer to those of Greatanley, and were themselves again confirmed at Faversham and at Thundersfield in Surrey. These, like the laws of Edward's day, deal mainly the keeping of the *frith*. It was still not kept as the King liked, and his Witan told him

[1] Will. Malmes. ii. 134: 'Urbem illam quam contaminatæ gentis repurgio defæcaverat, turribus munivit, muro ex quadratis lapidibus cinxit.'

that he had too long borne with the evil. Banishment was now decreed against all disturbers of the public peace.

In these days, as again in much later days, the assemblies of the nation were held whenever it suited the convenience of the King at the moment. Exeter took its chance with other places. In an intermediate stage, assemblies were regularly held at three fixed places, and of these Exeter was not one. Its position, like the position of York, was unfitted for an habitual place of national gatherings. But the very exclusion of the city from this form of national life may have made it yet more thoroughly the local head of its own part of the kingdom.

The next time we hear of Exeter is in the Danish wars of Æthelred's reign. Then, as in the days of Alfred, the city was twice attacked by the enemy: but its fate was different in the two cases. Reversing the warfare of Alfred, the first attack was beaten off; the second again laid Exeter at the feet of a heathen, or rather an apostate, conqueror. In 1001 a Danish fleet appeared off Exmouth, commanded by Pallig, the brother-in-law of King Swegen, who had taken service under Æthelred and had embraced Christianity, but who had now become a renegade and a traitor. The ships sailed up the Exe and assaulted the city. A few years before, the wall of London, defended by the citizens of London, had proved too strong for two kings of the North. And now the *burh* of Alfred, the wall of Æthelstan—both are specially spoken of—were guarded by men no less valiant, and did their work no less well. The heathen were beaten back, and the city could breathe again. But in the days of

Æthelred, the most valiant local efforts were everywhere made fruitless by the lack of counsel and strength at head-quarters. Exeter was left to defend itself. The city was saved; but the surrounding lands suffered all the more. Something of a campaign followed. It may be that an earthwork north of the city, which still bears the name of Danes Castle, is a sign of the presence of the invaders. The men of Devonshire and Somerset—not the men of England or even the men of Wessex—met the enemy in battle at Pinhoe. But the levy of two shires, less practised in warfare than the Danish veterans, yielded to greater numbers and greater strength, and the heathen harried the land at pleasure.

Two years later, in 1003, Exeter was attacked by a mightier foe, and this time there was either a coward or a traitor within her walls. Æthelred had contrived to put himself in the wrong, even towards the apostate invader. Swegen came to avenge the massacre of his countrymen and the wanton slaughter of his own sister. Exeter was the first corner of England that was called on to pay the *wergeld* for the vespers of Saint Brice. It had now to withstand, not the attacks of this or that wandering wiking, but the whole might of the Danish realm gathered under one of the most famous of its kings. But the citizens who had beaten back Pallig had no chance of beating back Swegen. We are now in the century of the Norman Conquest, and the Norman Conquest itself has in some sort begun, when we find the defence of Exeter in the hands of a Norman. Emma had come from Normandy to be the wife and mother of English kings, and Exeter was part of the foreign Lady's morning-gift. Her reeve Hugh, the Frenchman

or Norman, *earl* in one version, *churl* in another, ruled in the city. Through him the city was lost, whether by mere cowardice and carelessness or by deliberate treason. Swegen met with no such resistance as Pallig had met with two years before. He entered the city and plundered it, and, partly perhaps with a view to future needs, partly, it may be, as a kind of symbolic act, he broke down a large part of the wall of Æthelstan. He destroyed it from the east gate to the west, words which would be satisfied by so far breaking down half the wall as to make it useless for defence. In any case the destruction was presently made good. Exeter was again a strong city forty-seven years later.

This second Danish capture did nothing, any more than the former, to make Exeter a Danish city. The presence of the Dane was shorter now than it was in the days of Alfred. Swegen seems to have gone away at once, carrying with him, we are told, vast plunder. Ten years later the citizens of Exeter became for a moment his subjects. But that was not because of any local warfare, but because all England was worn out. When Swegen came to Bath in 1013, he was met by all the thegns of the West, with Æthelmær, Ealdorman of Devonshire, at their head. They acknowledged the Dane as full king over all England; but his kingship was ended in the next year at Gainsburgh, by the stroke, as men deemed, not of a dead but of a living Edmund. The battle-fields of Cnut and Ironside all lie in other parts of the kingdom, and after the taking in 1003 we hear of no fighting at Exeter or in the coasts thereof till the coming of the Norman.

In the comparatively peaceful days of the Confessor Exeter was the scene of a ceremony which marks an important stage in its history. Up to this time we have heard little of the city on its ecclesiastical side. In a puzzling passage of Asser Alfred is said to have made him a grant of Exeter and its dependencies in *Saxony*—that is to say, Devonshire—and Cornwall.[1] This cannot mean a grant of all the royal possessions in the two shires. Still less can it bear the more obvious meaning, a grant of a bishopric of Exeter which was not yet in being. In Asser's day Devonshire and the British land beyond it formed two separate dioceses, and the Bishop of Devonshire had his bishopstool at Crediton. But the passage, whatever its meaning, concerns the history of Asser rather than the history of Exeter; it marks no epoch in the position of city or church. But Æthelstan, besides his fortifications and his other changes, appears also as the founder of the monastery of Saint Mary and Saint Peter at Exeter, and as giving it many relics, including some of the local saint Sidwell. In 968, according to Florence of Worcester, Edgar gathered monks together at Exeter and made Sideman their abbot. This reference also can only be to the church of Saint Peter; it may point to some suppression or dispersion under Eadwig.[2]

But the great change of all in the ecclesiastical

[1] 'Exanceaster cum omni parochia quæ ad se pertinebat in Saxonia et in Cornubia.' This is a Welshman's geography. Haddan and Stubbs (Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents, i. 675) accept this as the grant of a bishopric.

[2] It must be by some mistake that William of Malmesbury speaks of the church as occupied by nuns.

history of Exeter was when the city became the site of the united bishopric of the West. In the reign of Edward came more than one instance of a change which, earlier or later, would not have been deemed a change for the better. Two or more bishoprics were united under a single bishop, sometimes as a mere piece of personal plurality, sometimes, as the next stage, by a formal union of the sees. Thus the adjoining sees of Devonshire and Cornwall and the distant see of Worcester were all held together by the famous Lyfing, the yoke-fellow of Earl Godwine. This was a mere personal union; on Lyfing's death in 1046 Worcester was separated, but the two Western sees were given together to the King's Chancellor Leofric. Described as a Briton, though bearing an English name, he can hardly fail to have been a native of the Cornish part of his diocese. But his education was foreign, and yet not wholly alien; he was brought up in those border-lands of the Nether-Dutch speech whose natives passed for something between Englishmen and Frenchmen. The reputation of the Lotharingian—we should now say the Belgian—churches stood high both in England and in Normandy, and men born or brought up among them were often sought out for preferment in both lands. Such was Leofric, who clearly came to England full of continental ideas. It was against the universal practice of the mainland that bishops should have their seats in villages or small towns, while their dioceses contained great cities fitted to receive them. And the strict discipline of Lotharingia, set forth by Chrodegang of Metz, no less condemned the lax life of the clergy of English

episcopal churches, living in their own houses, and not uncommonly married. Leofric became a reformer on both points. In the documents relating to the foundation of the bishopric, the union of the two dioceses under a single head at Crediton seems taken for granted. The object is to transfer the see from the mere town or village (*villa*, *villula*) of Crediton to the city (*urbs*, *civitas*) of Exeter. The way in which Leofric sets about this change is characteristic of the earlier years of Edward, and specially characteristic of a bishop brought up beyond sea. Instead of going straight to the King and his Witan, as his predecessor would doubtless have done, Leofric sent a clerk to ask Pope Leo the Ninth to write a letter to the King, requesting that the change should be made. The letter was written, the translation of the bishopric from Crediton to Exeter followed, and the installation of Leofric as the first bishop of the church of Exeter was made by the King personally in the year 1050.

Of this change of bishopstool we have a full account, including Pope Leo's letter, and we have King Edward's charter describing the process.[1] The Pope writes to the King in somewhat of a tone of authority, but he makes no attempt to do anything of himself. He wishes, he almost orders, that the Western bishopstool shall be removed to Exeter; but it is the King who is actually to remove it. He wonders that Leofric or any other bishop should have his bishopstool without a city; he does not enlarge on one special argument urged both by Leofric and by the King, the greater safety of Exeter, now again a strong city, as compared with

[1] They are given in Haddan and Stubbs, i. 691–5.

Crediton. Devonshire and Cornwall, they say, were liable to be ravaged by barbarian pirates, that is doubtless by Irish Danes. The King announces to the Pope what has been done, but not as done by his authority, but by that of the King, Queen, Bishops, Earls, and other great men of the kingdom. We see the first Bishop led to his throne in the church which has become his by the King on one hand and the Lady on the other, the two Archbishops, the Earls, and other great men, standing by and approving. On this memorable occasion, Exeter again, as in the days of Æthelstan and of a mightier Edward, appears as a place of meeting for the Witan of the whole land.

It will be noticed that the Queen, in the language of the time the Lady, takes a leading and personal part in the whole matter. The Lady of the English was a person of no small power, dignity, and wealth; but it was not simply the Lady of the English who acted at the investiture of Leofric, but the special Lady of Exeter. The city which had been the morning-gift of Norman Emma was now, along with Winchester, part of the morning-gift of English Edith, daughter of Godwine, sister of Harold. At Exeter she was on her own ground; the royal revenues within the city were hers; but she was not called on, like Emma, to choose a military defender for its walls. When Exeter stood a siege in Edith's day, its defenders were not of the stamp of Hugh the Churl, and they were not of the Lady's choosing.

Among the changes made by Leofric in the church to which he now moved his home, there is no mention of the building of a new minster of Saint Peter. The

bishopstool was translated to the existing church, and the monks were displaced to make room for secular canons. Here came in the fruits of Leofric's continental education. The canons of Exeter were, contrary to the custom of England, put under the rule of Chrodegang, and were made to accept the common dormitory and common table. This attempt at an intermediate state between the religious and the secular life was tried in this century in several other of the chief churches of England. But it was everywhere disliked, and the English canons always sooner or later found their way back to the freer use of their own land. When William of Malmesbury wrote, the Lotharingian discipline had nearly died out at Exeter. He can only point out with some glee that an officer named by the bishop, the *œconomus*, still supplied every canon with daily food and a yearly change of raiment.

Bishop Leofric survived the coming of the Norman, and died in possession of his see in the year 1072. His will records what he had given in his lifetime and what he left at his death to 'Saint Peter's minster in Exeter where his bishopstool is.' The gifts consist of lands, church-ornaments, and books. He had found the church very poor; it had only two hides of land at Ide and seven oxen, and of more strictly ecclesiastical goods, three books and a shrine. He recovered various estates which had been alienated, and added others of his own gift. Among the lost property was land at Topsham which Harold had unlawfully taken, and which had not been recovered. There is a long list of ornaments and of books, among which a copy of the 'Regula Canonicorum' is not forgotten. And above all

there is one 'great English book of divers things, song-wise wrought,' in which we may discern the precious volume, the *Liber Exoniensis*, to which the name of his church emphatically cleaves.

And now comes the tale of the conquest of England by the Norman invader, a tale in which no city of England comes so distinctly to the front as Exeter. Yet we cannot connect the corporate action of the city with any deeds or words on the part of the bishop or of any other one man mentioned by name. In the stirring story of the resistance of Exeter to the Conqueror and the siege which the city endured at his hands, we distinctly see classes of men, and opposition between classes, but the only names of personal actors are not immediately connected with the city. Gytha the widow of Godwine was there, and the wives of many good men with her; so, the local History of Abingdon tells us, was Blæcman, a rich priest from Berkshire, doubtless not the only man who had come from a distant shire. The lack of names from Exeter and Devonshire is strange at a time when the city for a moment reached a higher place than it ever reached at any moment before or since, when Exeter played the part of an independent commonwealth, the head of a gathering of smaller commonwealths around her. In the resistance of the West to William Exeter is the centre of the whole tale. At the beginning of the year 1068 the city had had no dealings of any kind with the Norman king; only her citizens are charged with having dealt cruelly with the crews of some Norman ships who had been brought within their power by stress of weather.

We have a picture of the citizens of Exeter, great and small, as a proud and fierce race, with a special hatred of Frenchmen. But it was soon shown that both the hatred and the other feelings of the small men of Exeter could be better trusted than those of the great ones. Their thegns, the English Chronicler emphatically says, betrayed them. The first step might seem a slight one in the ideas of that age. We must fully understand that at this moment Exeter, like Le Mans a little later, was virtually an independent commonwealth. We long in vain to know the exact plans of the defenders of the city and of the whole West, in what relation Exeter was meant to stand to the other towns of the West, to the thegns and churchmen of the West, to the kingdom of England in general and to its possible kings, above all to the sons of the fallen Harold when his mother had found shelter within her walls. We know not what the patricians of Exeter aimed at while they were still unthreatened. We know only what they were ready to consent to when the King who reigned in London and Winchester showed that he was fully minded to have dealings with Exeter of some kind. When William sent to demand that the chief men of Exeter should swear allegiance to him and receive him within their walls, they answered as an Italian city might have answered a Swabian Emperor. Their answer came to this; they would acknowledge William as Emperor of Britain; they would not receive him as their immediate king. They would pay him the tribute which they had been used to pay to the Kings of the English; but that should be all. They would swear no oaths to him; they would not receive him

within their walls. These terms clearly set forth their position; William's answer set forth his no less clearly. It was not his custom to accept subjects on such conditions. War was the only argument with the city which must have looked in William's eyes as Milan looked in the eyes of Frederick Barbarossa a hundred years later. And Exeter, like Milan, had been making ready for war. She had formed alliances with other towns and with the lands around; she had taken strangers into her pay; she had made every preparation for a siege. Walls, towers, battlements, had all been put into the most perfect state that the men of Exeter and their confederates could devise. Against this dangerous seat of patriotic resistance the Conqueror called forth an army, in which for the first time he turned the arms of Englishmen against their brethren. The men of those shires which could hardly help obeying the king of Winchester and London were constrained to join with the foreign invaders of England in the warfare which was to bring Exeter and the whole West into the same bondage as themselves.

The policy of William was ever severity to those who withstood him, and gentleness to those who submitted to his yoke. He could do harsh and cruel things; but he never did them without a purpose. His line of march led him through Dorset; the towns of Dorset were in league with Exeter; to make an example of the smaller seats of rebellion might haply bring its great home and centre under his power without bloodshed. We have no record of the march; but it is plain that the towns of Dorset were fearfully harried. At last he drew near to

Exeter; while he was yet four miles from the Eastern gate, the hearts of the great men of the city failed them; they sent an embassy offering the fullest submission, promising to open the gates, and giving hostages for their good faith. We long for a few more words to set before us a picture of things as they stood within the walls of Exeter. We seem to see the working of a smaller and a greater council; at any rate we see a strong party division, and a division answering to the distinction between the great men and the general mass of the defenders. These last were more stout-hearted than their chiefs. When the messengers came back, their act was disowned by the people; even the danger of their fellow-citizens who were hostages in the Norman's hands did not stir them. When William, at the head of five hundred horsemen, drew near to Exeter, he found a city ready to withstand him to the uttermost. The gates were close barred; a host of defenders thronged the battlements. In the Conqueror's eyes it was mercy to bend the stubborn hearts of many by a deed of harshness to one. He drew near by the narrow isthmus which leads to the city from the east, and close under the gate, beneath the eyes of the armed citizens on the walls, he caused one of the hostages to be brought forth and his eyes to be put out. But the sight moved not the stern hearts of the defenders. William had to bring all the military and engineering skill of the time to bear upon the city. For eighteen days every attack of the invader was beaten back. But the defenders of Exeter had to fight against foes who could attack them underground as well as above. The device of a mine was too much

for them, and when their walls began to crumble beneath them, the hope of resistance passed away. The people, great and small, the clergy bearing their sacred books, came forth to pray for mercy. From the Conqueror's point of view, the offences of the suppliants were heavy; but in the moment of his victory, victory which gave him a great city and what might almost pass for another realm, he could afford to be gracious. The men of Exeter were promised their lives, limbs, and goods, and William took every care that his promise should not be made of none effect by the greediness of his soldiers. He then entered the conquered city by the eastern gate. Meanwhile, at the other end, the approach to the river had not been cut off, and Gytha and her immediate following were enabled to escape. She, her daughter and her granddaughter, fled to the Flat Holm and thence to Flanders. Her grandsons sought shelter, as their father had done seventeen years before, at the court of King Diarmid at Dublin.

Exeter thus passed into the hands of William. The hopes of its citizens, whether for Exeter or for England, were dashed to the ground. They became subjects of a foreign king. Their burthens were raised; either now or later the hand of confiscation fell on many of them; but immediate personal damage they suffered none. Neither at Exeter nor at Le Mans had the deeds of the sixteenth century, the French or the Spanish Fury of Antwerp, any counterpart. But the Conqueror had to make sure in the usual Norman fashion that the city which he had won should not pass out of his hands. The Red Mount of Exeter had

been the stronghold of Briton, Roman, and Englishman; but the military art had advanced in Norman hands, and the defences which satisfied Alfred did not satisfy William. The conquered city had to be secured by the building of a castle. But both nature and the men of earlier times had done so much that the Norman engineers had less to do than usual. The hill-side was ready scarped, the ditch was ready dug; on such a site the massive square keep was hardly needed, and the top of the hill was already turned into something not unlike a shell-keep. But a stone wall supplanted the rampart of earth which had hitherto been its defence, and towers were added. The outer works of the castle spread some way below the foot of the hill; but the great gateway which formed the approach from the town was placed on so steep a slope, that, while the inner arch was on a level with the ground outside, the outer one was high in air, and must have been approached by a drawbridge and causeway.

The carrying out of the works and the command of the castle were intrusted by William to Baldwin of Moeles, son of his early guardian Count Gilbert. He was married to a kinswoman of the King's, and we shall hear again of his descendants. He became Sheriff of Devonshire, and—most likely by successive grants as forfeitures fell in—he received vast estates, mostly in Devonshire, of which the castle of Oakhampton was the head. Baldwin the Sheriff, Baldwin of Exeter, takes up several pages of the Great Survey.

Within the next year, the new defences of the

Red Mount were put to the test. According to one version, the sons of Harold, in their second expedition in 1069, when they laid waste a large part of Devonshire, attacked Exeter itself. If so, they were beaten back without making any impression on the new fortress. Later in the year, when the whole West was again in arms against William, Rougemont stood a more serious siege. The men of Somerset and Dorset attacked Montacute, the new stronghold of Count Robert of Mortain, the King's half-brother, and were put down by the warlike Bishop Geoffrey of Coutances. The men of Devonshire and Cornwall gathered under the walls of Exeter, hoping to undo the work of the last year and to break the fetters with which the Conqueror had bound down their land. Their head was lost to them. Exeter was now no longer the centre of a confederation of Western England, zealous to keep the stranger out. The stranger was within her walls, and the hearts of the citizens were too heavily bowed down to join in schemes of deliverance. They took the King's side, we are told, mindful of the troubles which they had undergone. And truly, if William himself had entered a second time as Conqueror through the East Gate of Exeter, he might have been in a less merciful mood than he was the first time. As for the mercy of his lieutenants, the besiegers of Montacute learned what that was. The men of Exeter gave no help to the men of the two shires; they may even have helped to drive off the besiegers. The fugitives were smitten with a great slaughter by Count Brian of Britanny, whom the King had sent to the relief of Exeter. Thus the revolt of the West was crushed while warfare

was still waging in the North. York had been taken and retaken, Durham had won back her freedom, Chester had never lost hers, while Exeter was besieged by champions of England who looked in vain for help from her citizens. Western England and its head city now passed without hope of change under the rule of the stranger who had become *de facto* king of the land. The later sieges of Exeter were sieges in civil warfare, not attacks on the part of foreign enemies. We have seen her first vainly defended by Englishmen against strangers and then successfully defended by strangers against Englishmen. We have to see her defended by Englishmen against Englishmen, to see her defended against Englishmen by strangers in the pay of an English king, and lastly to see her welcome a foreign army, the army of another William, who came not to conquer but to deliver.

CHAPTER III.

EXETER, CHURCH, CITY, AND CASTLE.

1069–1225.

Exeter in Domesday—Notices in the twelfth century—Rebuilding of Saint Peter's—Rebellion of Earl Baldwin—Siege and capture of the castle by Stephen—The charters, beginning with Henry the Second—The Reeves—The Mayor—No account of the civic constitution—Settlement of the parish churches—The monasteries—Saint Nicolas and Saint James—Hospitals—Friaries—Constitution of the chapter—Foundation of the deanery—Building of Exe bridge.

THUS far we have traced the chief events in the early history of Exeter. But we have as yet had small materials for drawing a picture of the political or social life of the city. In the narrative of the Conqueror's sieges we have seen two classes of men, and seemingly two assemblies in which they met and acted. But we can hardly infer anything from this picture as to the state of the city in ordinary times. In the time of siege many of the chief defenders of Exeter would not be her own citizens. How far were the men who made the offer of submission to William, those thegns who betrayed the city, the elders or patricians of the city itself, how far the great men of the West in general? Were the men who disowned the submission a popular assembly reversing the decision of its magistrates or a

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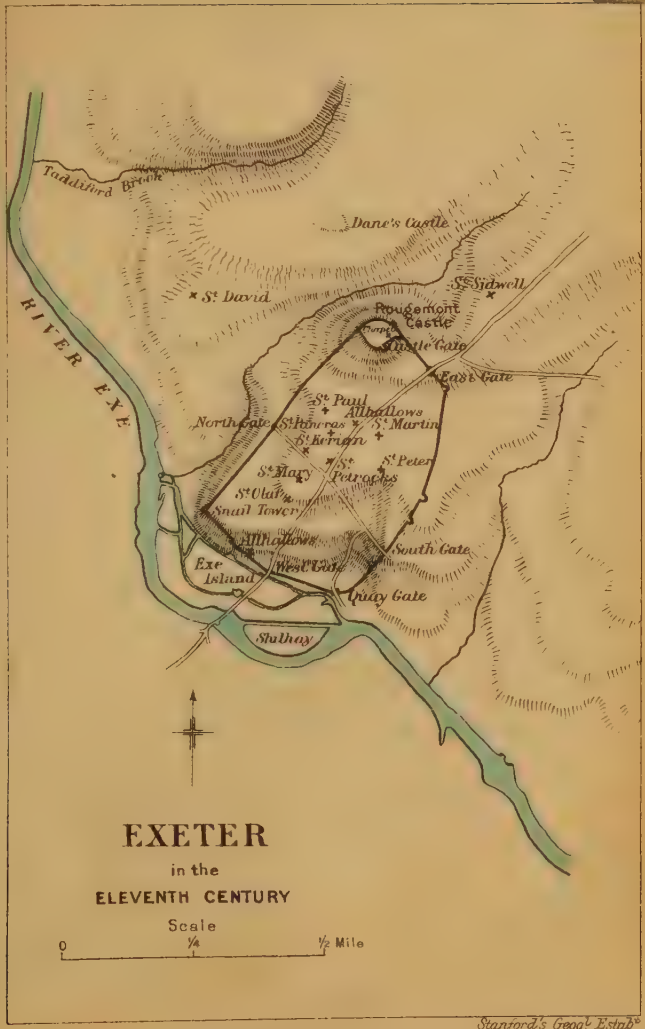

Stanford's Geogl Estab.t

London: Longmans & Co.

patriotic army throwing off the authority of faint-hearted officers? The story of the siege teaches us little as to the constitution of the city. Our only picture of Exeter either before or soon after the Norman Conquest comes from the great Survey of the Conqueror. But that Survey gives us less help than we could wish, less than it gives us in many other towns and shires. In the drawing up of Domesday much was left to the discretion of the commissioners, and the commissioners who were sent to the Western shires were men lacking in imagination. In some parts of England Domesday gives us full details of men and things, of local tenures and customs, of personal transactions and personal adventures. Of Lincoln we get a living picture; we make the personal acquaintance of all the magistrates and of most of the householders of the city. At Exeter we have no such good luck. All Devonshire and Somerset is done in a dull and meagre way, and the local capital fares no better than smaller places. We do not learn the name of any citizen of Exeter, or the nature of any citizen's holding. Our entries are all statistical, and mostly financial. But they show that, though Exeter suffered less by the Conquest than many other English towns, yet the burthens which it had to bear under King William were heavier than those which it had had to bear under King Edward.

In the year 1086 the King had 285 houses in Exeter paying custom. The whole payment was eighteen pounds yearly. Of this sum six pounds—that is the Earl's third penny—went to the Sheriff Baldwin, 'ad pensum et arsuram;' that is, they were required to be

of the most approved coinage both as to weight and fineness. The other twelve pounds had formed part of the morning-gift of the Lady, and, though Edith had been dead eleven years, they are entered separately as hers, and still passed through the hand of her reeve, the Englishman Colwine. These pounds were paid by tale, and were not put to the same strict test as those which were paid to the Sheriff. Colwine himself appears in the Survey at the head of the King's thegns holding lands in Devonshire, some of which had been held by himself in the days of King Edward, but which had mostly been in the hands of other English owners. Forty-eight houses had become waste since the King came into England; that is, they were either destroyed in the siege or swept away for the works of the castle. The castle itself, like several other famous castles, is unnoticed in the Survey.

This regular yearly payment of eighteen pounds had taken the place of various uncertain payments and services. It shows the high position of Exeter among English towns that in King Edward's time it was called on for payment only when London, York, and Winchester were called on. The payment was half a mark of silver for the use of the soldiers. And when the king went forth to war by land or sea, the city supplied the same contribution of men as was supplied by five hides of land. Thus the citizens of Exeter, who had offered to pay to William what they had paid to former kings, found their burthens far heavier than they had been in the old time. And the Lady, while she lived, reaped her full share of the increased contributions of her own city. In fact Exeter had been very lightly

taxed in times past. Places so much smaller as Barnstaple, Lidford, and Totnes, were charged with the same amount of military service as the city itself.

The Survey further notices that the burgesses of Exeter had land as a body. Twelve carucates outside the city belonged to them, and paid no custom except to the city itself. Beyond one or two other notices of the common land, we get no further account of the citizens of Exeter as a corporate body. We have no account of the internal customs and tenures of the city, no picture of any municipal magistracy, such as the Lincoln Lawmen and the Chester judges. The only man that we know is the reeve Colwine, one of a class which was thicker in Lincoln and Lindesey than in Exeter and Devonshire, the class of Englishmen who contrived, in Colwine's case clearly by the favour of the Lady, to hold up their heads among the foreign conquerors. Besides him we hear only of burgesses as a class, and we are not told how far they remained an English body, and how far strangers had made their way among them. But, both from the list in the Exchequer Domesday and from the longer list in the earlier version preserved at Exeter, we see that all the recorded owners of houses in the city were strangers. Several of the Conqueror's chief grantees in the shire had also houses in the city. The Bishop of Exeter had 47 houses, paying ten shillings and tenpence. Of these two were made waste by fire, by some of those casual fires by which towns built chiefly of wood were so often laid waste. The Bishop had also a church, whose dedication is not given, which paid one mark of silver; two acres and a half belonging to that church

lay along with the common land of the burgesses. The Bishop of Coutances also, that is the warlike Geoffrey of Mowbray in his personal character, along with great estates in the shire held houses in the city. Houses were also held by Count Robert of Mortain, the King's half-brother, the greatest of all spoilers in the western lands, by the Sheriff Baldwin, by the Breton Judhael—his spellings are endless—lord of Totnes, and by the less famous William Chièvre or Capra. The Abbot of Tavistock had a house which he held in pledge of a burgess. This is the beginning of the custom by which the heads of the great Devonshire monasteries had houses in the local capital. The Exeter Domesday complains in several entries that King William did not get the pennies which King Edward had had before him. One of the men who did not pay his pennies was Godebold the crossbowman, one of a class whom we find here and there in Domesday, whose possessions were the rewards of services in departments of warfare answering to our modern engineers and artillery. But the entry which most touchingly calls up the English history of the time is that which relates to the abbey of Battle, 'ecclesia de Labaitalge,' 'abbas de prælio,' 'abbas batailliæ,' as its head is called in different entries. His abbey held the church of Saint Olaf in Exeter, a church which Gytha had enriched with her dower lands at Sherford in Devonshire, which she gave to the great saint of her own people as an offering for the soul of Godwine.[1] That lands granted for such

[1] The date is fixed to 1070 by the signature of Archbishop Thomas, who could not have signed before that year, and of Earl William Fitz-Osbern, who could not have signed after it.

an use should pass to the Abbey of the Place of Battle might have a special fitness in the Conqueror's eyes. But his gift is not made to Saint Martin, not to an abbot or an abbey, but to 'my monks of Battle.' The church of Battle was not yet built; the abbot had not come from Marmoutier; the few monks were still struggling with the site which they disliked, and praying the King to move them elsewhere, when he comforted them with this distant gift designed for so different a purpose.

The distinctive feature in the Domesday picture of Exeter is the connexion of the city with the Lady. Her rights over Exeter would seem to have been specially part of the morning-gift. They did not pass to the elder Matilda, a duchess raised to be a queen, nor to any queen in the same position; with the younger Matilda they appear again. She granted two thirds of the revenues of Exeter to the priory of the Holy Trinity in London. The morning-gift could not pass to Stephen's queen Matilda, nor to Eleanor of Aquitaine; but it appears again with Berengaria.

We come to no more statistics for a good while, but of descriptions of the city and its special features we meet with more than one during the twelfth century. William of Malmesbury, when he records the changes under Æthelstan, gives a picture of the Exeter of his own day. It is a city planted indeed on a barren soil, which barely rears oats which for the most part are husks without grain; but the greatness of the city, the wealth of the citizens, the concourse of strangers, the abundance of good things from all parts of the world, leave nothing lacking that can be needed for

human life. Later in the century the grain-crops of Exeter are jeered at in the satirical description of the English towns given by the Jew in Richard of the Devizes. Exeter is to be eschewed as a place where men and beasts of burthen were fed on the same grain.[1] Henry of Huntingdon has a more respectful notice in his Latin verse, where he sings of

Eboracum silvis, Excestria clara metallis,

which sounds as if part of the trade of Exeter consisted in the export of Cornish tin.

The historian of Stephen also, to whom we shall presently come for an important historical notice, sets forth the greatness of Exeter and the strength of its castle. Exeter was, in his reckoning, the fourth city of England. There was no need to name the first three. The claim of London, York, and Winchester was undisputed, though there might sometimes be strife between the metropolis of the North and the royal city of the South. Somewhat earlier we find the fourth place given to Lincoln; somewhat later it has passed from the ancient cities to the far more modern borough of Bristol. We hear of the wealth of the merchant city and its rich supplies of meat and sea-fish. Not only the walls of Æthelstan with their later repairs, but the castle, not yet seventy years old, was already deemed the work of Cæsars.[2] Our guide is eloquent on the height of the hill, the impregnable strength of the

[1] P. 123. Ric. Dic. 81. 'Exonia eodem farre reficit homines et jumenta.'

[2] Gest. Steph. 21. 'Turribus Cæsarianis incisili calce confectis firmatum.'

towers built of flint-work. All through the century Exeter keeps the place which it holds in earlier days.

At the time of the Survey the oldest thing in Exeter was the city itself. The bishopric was an innovation of the days of Edward; the castle was an innovation of the days of William. But the episcopal church remained as a witness of days before Edward; Leofric, as we have seen, was one of the prelates who were left undisturbed by the new order of things. Almost at once on the taking of Exeter, the King—he appears as more than king, as 'victoriosus Anglorum basileus'—grants a most favourable charter to his 'faithful bishop Leofric,' with grants of lands to him and his canons.[1] His successor, the Bishop who appears in Domesday, was a Norman, but of another type from most of his countrymen. Osbern, a son of the Conqueror's earliest guardian, a brother of his most trusted friend Earl William Fitz-Osbern, had come, like many of his countrymen, to seek his fortune in England in the days of Edward. But, unlike his comrades, Osbern became an adopted Englishman; he clave to English ways, and, when promoted to the bishopric by the Conqueror, he remained, like Saint Wulfstan at Worcester, a relic of the simpler life of the earlier time. He did not follow the usual practice of the Norman prelates in pulling down and re-build-

[1] The style is not exactly William's, and I cannot find the lands named among the possessions of the see in Domesday. Yet a forger would hardly have chosen the date of 1068, or have added the signatures of Queen Matilda, Archbishop Stigand, Earl Morkere, and Count Brian—who could have met in that year and at no other time. The signature of Brian is significant.

ing the churches of their English predecessors. The church which Leofric found standing, the church of the days when Exeter was not yet a bishopric, lived on into the twelfth century, when nearly all the great churches of England had given way to succession in the new style. Exeter, in the opening years of that century, must have been a speaking witness of the change which had come over England. The new-built castle, the badge of conquest, rose on the height, and the ancient church, the memorial of earlier days, stood untouched beneath it. The conservative bishop Osbern lived till 1103. Then, after a vacancy of four years, owing to the questions between Henry the First and Anselm, the see passed to William of Warelwast, a man who figures in Anselm's history as an unscrupulous agent of William Rufus. In his long episcopate, from 1107 till 1136, he made the change from which his predecessor had shrunk, and the Norman church of Exeter arose on a pattern unlike that of any other in England. Two vast towers of his building survive, serving as transepts to a long unbroken body of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The arrangement was strange, whether that was the object from the beginning, or whether the towers belong to the west front of a church which has been prolonged westward. As western towers, their scale is altogether disproportioned to any church which can ever have stood to the east of them; they have not the air of western towers, and they must, as western towers, have stood out north and south beyond the line of the aisles far more conspicuously than those at Wells or Rouen. And they seem equally unsuited for transept towers, unless there was

a long choir to the east. The continental examples of side towers, as at Geneva, Angoulême, Le Mans, are or have been eastern towers flanking an apse. For that purpose William of Warelwast's towers would be no better fitted than for an ordinary west front. Whatever the cause of the singularity, one which gives the church of Exeter a most marked character of its own, the arrangement never became usual in England. It was imitated at Ottery Saint Mary, and that was all. But the same arrangement is suggested by several churches in Somerset, where one transept is formed by a tower, the other taking the usual shape. Carry this transept also up into a tower, and the outline of Exeter and Ottery would be at once produced.

The church begun by William of Warelwast went on under several following bishops. The most eminent name during the rest of the twelfth century is that of Bartholomew of Exeter, bishop from 1159 to 1184. He was only one of several men of renown of whom Exeter was the birth-place. Alexander Neckham has been claimed without right; but there was Baldwin Archbishop of Canterbury, preacher and pilgrim of the crusade, and Joseph, the poet alike of Antioch and of Exeter. Bartholomew had a great repute for learning, and in the great meeting at Northampton, in the strife between Henry and Thomas, he was found on the side of the King. At a later stage he was chosen to plead the King's cause before Pope Alexander at Rome. The thirteenth century opened on Exeter under the episcopate of Henry Marshall (1191–1206), of the house of the earls of that name, by whom the church of William of Warelwast was brought to a slow and not

long-lived perfection. To him succeeds the stranger Simon of Apulia, whose presence is one of the signs of the near intercourse between England and the lands of the Sicilian kings. After him came William Briwere, who has an important name both in local and in general history.

The innovation of the days of Edward, the foundation of the bishopric, had been fully completed before the end of the twelfth century. The Bishop of Exeter held his bishopstool in the new church, surrounded by a body of priests, subject, in name at least, to the rule of Chrodegang. Meanwhile the innovation of the days of William, the castle on the Red Hill, kept its place, and remained for several generations in the keepership of the heirs of its first guardian Baldwin. His son Richard added an earldom, the first earldom of Devonshire, to the sheriffdom of his father. After him came another Baldwin, in whose days the strength of the castle of Exeter was to be put to a special test. The city had been successfully besieged by a foreign king before the castle was; city and castle together had been besieged in vain by a revolted people; the castle alone was now besieged by a king who was in full possession of the city. In the early days of Stephen, when the rich men that were traitors rose up against the king who was a mild man and soft and good and did no justice, one of the foremost among them was the guardian of Rougemont, Earl Baldwin. The King, in the exercise of his undoubted right, demanded the castle to be surrendered to himself. This Baldwin refused; he victualled the castle, and made

ready for resistance at the head of a chosen band of defenders. Of Baldwin himself, and his relations to the city, the picture is not pleasing. We hear of his violence towards citizens and strangers, how he loved to tread the peaceful streets with his armed soldiers, and to threaten fire and sword to all who would not bow down to him. Here we clearly see the growth of an independent civic spirit; and, when Baldwin revolted against the King, the citizens of Exeter were naturally zealous on the royal side. They sent to the King—in whose name was the letter or message drawn?—praying him to come with speed and relieve them from the power of Baldwin, that they might obey their sovereign only. Stephen at once sent two hundred knights with all speed. A struggle followed within the city which calls up the deeds of Waltheof before the castle-gate at York. Baldwin and his followers sallied from the castle to plunder and burn in the town. The King's knights came just in time to drive them back; he himself followed; new forces came to his help, and the regular siege of the castle began.

Both sides made use of all the military resources of the time. The defenders, sworn not to yield, reviled the King and his followers from the ramparts, and annoyed them by missiles and sallies. On the other side battering-engines were brought to bear on the castle; so were mines. The besiegers occupied the outer works to the north, where the scarped ground overlooks the valley, while on the other side, they broke down the bridge which led from the city to the castle. Yet all communications were not cut off, as both prisoners and monks

were allowed passage. One special recruit indeed was received into the castle. Alfred, son of Judhael, the Breton lord of Totnes, a special friend of Baldwin, left his own castle without defenders, and with a few followers was brought, under cover of a sally, within the walls of Rougemont.

The siege had now lasted three months; it had cost the King 15,000 marks, and the result was still doubtful. At last the wells within the castle, which had never before been known to run dry, altogether failed. We hear of the straits to which the besiegers were driven when they had to use wine—had they no such national drinks as ale and cider?—for all purposes of cookery, and even to put out the fires with which the King's men burned their engines. Naturally wine soon failed as well as water. The distress became intolerable; two cunning speakers from among the garrison were sent to the King to propose terms. But the keen eye of the King's brother, Bishop Henry of Winchester, saw the straits to which they were brought, and counselled that no terms should be given short of unconditional surrender. But the King's barons pleaded for the rebels, and used an argument which sounds strange indeed after the Conqueror's law of Salisbury, an argument which surely none would have used to any king but Stephen. The followers of Baldwin, they said, were guilty of no treason against the King, as they had only obeyed the obligations of fealty to their own lord. The King yielded; the defenders of Rougemont were allowed to go forth with their goods, and to follow what lord they would. Bishop Henry was left in command of Exeter and Devonshire,

while Stephen followed Baldwin to the Isle of Wight, whither he had gone to make the castle of Carisbrooke a new centre of rebellion. But water failed there also and Baldwin submitted himself to the King. Banishment and confiscation were the only punishments inflicted by the mild Stephen, and banishment gave Baldwin good opportunities for carrying on his plots in concert with Count Geoffrey of Anjou. The nineteen years of anarchy had begun, and they had begun within the walls of Exeter.

In after times, when disloyalty to Stephen no longer passed for a crime, Baldwin came back to his possessions and honours. The earldom of Devonshire remained in his family for several generations, and the connexion with the city was so close that the Earls were often spoken of as Earls of Exeter. That is to say, at Exeter, as at Arundel, a local description supplanted the strict official title. Earldoms are now in their transitional stage. They have become hereditary; but they carry with them the official perquisite of the ancient official earls, the third penny of the King's revenues in the shire.

The restoration of Earl Baldwin was a result of the coming of Henry of Anjou. But the coming of the King who did justice and made peace was felt in other ways at Exeter, as elsewhere. We now enter on the strictly municipal history of the city itself, as distinguished from that of the spiritual and temporal lords who were so nearly connected with it. With Henry the Second begins the series of charters granted by the Kings of England to the citizens of Exeter, a series

which goes on to the time of George the Third. But the early charters only confirm old privileges and abolish baleful innovations; they do not prescribe any form of municipal constitution. On this last head we have still to put our knowledge together from incidental sources. The legal language of Henry the Second follows the precedents of the Conqueror's day. It refers to a past time of legal order followed by an irregular time which is hinted at rather than defined. The days of the reigning King's grandfather take the place of the days of King Edward; the reign of Stephen is implied in much the same way as the reign of Harold. The King grants to his citizens of Exeter the right customs which they had in the days of King Henry his grandfather, and takes away all the evil customs which have come in since his grandfather's time. He confirms to them the customs of London, freely, honourably, and fully, as they ever had them in his grandfather's time. The writ is addressed to the Bishop of Exeter and to all the King's barons and faithful men, French and English. That formula of an earlier day still lingers, though it has lost its meaning. The writ is signed by three men memorable in the history of the time, Arnulf the versatile Bishop of Lisieux, Reginald Earl of Cornwall, the natural son of Henry the First, and the more renowned name of Thomas the Chancellor. The date therefore comes before 1162. Another writ of the same King, with the same witnesses, but addressed to 'all justices, sheriffs, and officers,' makes the citizens of Exeter free from toll, lastage, and passage, everywhere by land and water. Other writs of Richard the First grant privileges of

the same kind; in one the word used is 'burgesses,' in another 'citizens.' His queen Berengaria moreover stepped of right into the place of Emma, Edith, and the second Matilda, and became lady of a city which assuredly she never saw. Dwelling at Le Mans and drawing revenues from Exeter, the princess of Navarre was mistress of the two cities that so stoutly withstood the Conqueror in the name of republican freedom. During her possession of queenly rights (1191–1230), an important change took place in the constitution of her city. King John appears at Exeter, as so often elsewhere, as a benefactor not wholly of his own free will. He defrauds the Lady of Exeter of the profits of her morning-gift, but he grants to Exeter itself a reformed constitution. Both acts doubtless sprang from the same motive, the enrichment of the King's coffers.

We have now reached a time as memorable in local as in national history. In the reigns of John and his son Henry the Third three changes took place at Exeter which gave an abiding shape to the civil and ecclesiastical state of the city. The municipal constitution of the city, its parochial divisions, the constitution of the cathedral church, were all now remodelled after the types common to other cities and other churches. At Exeter, as in most other cities, the origin of the municipal magistracy is hidden in darkness. Most likely it grew out of this relation between the city and the queens. Colwine, the reeve of the Lady Edith, nay, Hugh the reeve of the Lady Emma, are patriarchs of John Shillingford and all other Mayors of Exeter. Of the successors of Hugh and Colwine, several names are known in the

reign of Henry the Second. They appear in English and Latin, as *Wicreeve*, *Portreeve*, *Præpositus*, the last name taking the English shape of *Provost*. The names are of the usual Norman type, Herbert, William, Ralph, and Gilbert. The earliest bears the scriptural name of John, a name all but unknown in Domesday, but which was now getting into common use. But, in the days of Henry the Second, we can no longer infer Norman birth from a Norman name. Most of the reeves are marked by the names of their fathers; the single John is the son of Theobald: one, Gilbert, bears the personal French surname of Boschet. But William Hoel carries us back to the days before Æthelstan; he can hardly fail to have been the son of a British father, whether a settler from the British land to the west or a follower of the Armorican lords of Totnes.

But from the year 1206 or earlier, the *Præpositus* or Reeve ceases to be the head man of the city. A succession now begins which has gone on to our own day, that of the Mayors of Exeter. The chief magistrate now bears that familiar title; but the style of Provost only sinks, and does not vanish. The new head has under him two Provosts, Bailiffs, Seneschals or Stewards —the names vary and the number, first raised to two, was again raised to four. The Mayor is thus a later addition to the ancient Provosts, just as in some of the cities of southern Gaul the Mayor is a later addition to the ancient Consuls. But there the style of 'Major et Consules' marks that the ancient commonwealth has had its rights curbed by the authority of a foreign king. At Exeter the presence of the Mayor no less marks the presence of a foreign king, but it marks a contrary effect

of it. The French title of the chief magistrate marks, not the lessening of municipal freedom, but its growth. The Reeve or Provost had been a royal officer; the Mayor was the chosen head of the citizens. Royal rights and revenues remain; they are even granted out to subjects; but the King or other lord now deals with an organized body, capable of acting as an artificial person. A little later the lord's dues have changed into a fee-farm rent, and the appearance of the Mayor most likely marks the time of this change also.

This great land-mark in the history of the city seems not to be fixed by any surviving charter. A nameless Mayor of the year 1206 is followed within a few years by an unbroken series; but there seems to be no record of the actual beginning of the new constitution. John grants two charters to Exeter which merely confirm existing rights, one as Count of Mortain, one as King, but both before the appearance of the first Mayor. In the earlier one the time of Henry the First, 'King Henry the grandfather of my father,' is still referred to as the standard. After the confusions which followed on Richard's absence it might be needful, in the old phrase, to 'renew the law' of somebody. And after three generations, the 'law' of the 'good man' of whom there was 'mickle awe' was still the model.

Exeter has now a chosen chief magistrate, and her citizens are now addressed in various corporate styles, of which that of 'Mayor, Bailiffs, and Commonalty' (Major, Ballivi et Communitas) becomes the most usual. But we are almost as much in the dark as to the details of the civic constitution as we were before.

At a later time a close oligarchy grew up in Exeter, as in so many other towns; but this was not from the beginning. The 'Communitas' or 'Commonalty' addressed in the earlier charters was assuredly the whole body of freemen, acting as a body. The freemen of Exeter followed the usual law of such bodies. They kept their rights to themselves. Mere residence went for as little as in an old Greek commonwealth. The non-freeman remained a sojourner to the ninth and tenth generation. In fact the freemen of any English town exactly answer in their origin to the patricians of Rome or of any other Italian city. They were the old citizens, round about whom later and unprivileged settlers came to dwell. The difference in the two cases arises from the less strictly hereditary character of the freedom of English towns. Birth is the groundwork, but birth is not all in all. This difference arises from the connexion of so many of the mediæval town-constitutions with trade, in utter contrast to the commonwealths of the ancient world. In them citizenship could be had only by birth or by special grant; here, while mere residence went for nothing, there were other paths, according to the custom of the place. Again, the English town always remained a mere municipality; it never became an independent commonwealth, like an old Greek or Italian city, not even, like a free city of Germany, Italy, or Provence, an independent commonwealth, less the rights of the Emperor. Civic rights were not of the same value; they did not in the same way make up the whole of political life. Exeter was part of England, directly subject to the ordinary law of England; its citizens had rights

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as Englishmen higher than their rights as men of Exeter. In no English town did the whole body of freemen—that is of old citizens—keep on a socially patrician character; they often sank to a character quite the opposite. Nor did the nobility—in England we must say the gentry—of the neighbouring districts anywhere receive (whether with or without their own good will) the citizenship of the towns to the same extent that they did in Italy and even in France. Exeter stands out among the cities of England as keeping beyond most others the character of a local capital, the partial dwelling-place of the leading families of the surrounding district. But as Exeter never was like a German free city, so it never was like the capital of a French province. The course of English history forbad. As I had occasion to say long ago, the history of Exeter is less than the history of Nürnberg, because the history of England is greater than the history of Germany.

The other two changes which gave the city the character which it has kept ever since were of an ecclesiastical kind. One was the settlement of the parish churches, the number of which was in the year 1222 fixed at nineteen. The position of the parish churches in the episcopal and abbatial towns of England varies greatly. In the ancient cities, as Canterbury, Winchester, Lincoln, they are commonly many, but of no great importance; in towns of later origin they are often fewer, but much finer buildings. At Norwich the parish churches are thicker on the ground than anywhere else, and some are of considerable merit;

but they will not compare with the great churches of Coventry and Bristol. At Exeter the parish churches are many, but specially poor. The only churches besides Saint Peter's which make any show in the general view of the city are of modern date.

The nineteen parish churches settled by the ordinance of 1222 stand as follows. 1. Saint John's. 2. Saint Edward's. 3. Saint Stephen's. 4. Saint Mary Arches. 5. Saint Mary Major. 6. Saint Petrock's. 7. Saint Martin's. 8. Saint Pancras. 9. Saint Keryans. 10. Saint Lawrence. 11. Saint George's. 12. Saint Olaf's. 13. Saint Paul's. 14. Holy Trinity. 15. All-hallows-on-the-walls. 16. All-hallows in Goldsmith-street. 17. Saint Mary Steps. 18. Saint Sidwell's. 19. Saint David's. These two last stand without the walls, and were daughter churches to Heavitree, the nearest rural parish, with its church on the high ground to the east of the city.

This ordinance was possibly accompanied by the destruction of several churches. In two documents of the reigns of Richard and John a number of 'chapels' are spoken of, among which are all the existing parish churches, and several which are not on the list of 1222. Among them are Saint Peter-the-Less, Saint Clement, Saint Michael, Saint Simon and Saint Jude, Saint Bartholomew, Saint James, another Holy Trinity, Saint Leonard, Saint Edward, Saint Thomas, Saint Cuthberht, and Saint Mary Magdalen or the Lepers' Hospital, which seems to be here counted among parochial 'chapels.' The minister of one of the existing churches, Saint Lawrence, is also spoken of, not as rector or vicar but as 'chaplain.' It may be that the parochial system

was not fully organized in Exeter till the time of the ordinance, and that, while some of the chapels were suppressed, others were now raised to the rank of parish churches.

Besides the light which the Celtic element in the dedication of these churches throws on the early history, there is not much to note in the nomenclature of these churches. There is nothing like the singular local surnames which in London and Norwich distinguish churches of the same dedication. Saint Mary Major speaks for itself. It takes also the English shape of Saint Mary *More*, and better still Saint Mary *Michel*. Saint Mary Steps takes its name from the steps which rise from the low ground by the river into the heart of the town, while All-hallows-on-the-walls, which has changed its site but still deserves its name, speaks for itself. The origin of Saint Mary Arches is uncertain, but it has Norman columns, and is the only parish church with regular aisles. Saint Martin and Saint Mary Major both stand in the ecclesiastical precinct. Saint Martin's was dedicated July 6, 1065, a day then marked only as the octave of Saint Peter; but unluckily nothing of that date remains. Nor has Saint Olaf any traces of the age of Gytha or any architectural claims of any kind. Saint Stephen had a crypt, seemingly of the twelfth century. We notice, as at Wells, the dedication to the northern saint Cuthberht, to whom Alfred was specially devoted, and to whom he may well have made some memorial in the city which he delivered from heathen invaders. There is something strange in the suppression of churches bearing such strictly national names as this and Saint Edward. The Saint

Thomas spoken of is most likely that which is still beyond the walls.

Besides its parish churches, Exeter had also, like other towns, its monastic foundations both of the elder and of the newer type. But they never became a chief feature of the city. Its ancient monastery had given way to the secular establishment of the cathedral church, nor did any later minster arise to be its rival. The presence of such a second and rival minster, monastic or collegiate, growing up, usually beyond the walls, in honour of some local saint, is common among the cities of Gaul. Such are Saint Ouen at Rouen and the older Saint Martin at Tours, and Saint Front at Périgueux, which has become the kernel of a new town. In England the cases are rarer, and found only in the most ancient bishoprics, as at Canterbury, London, York, and Winchester. Here at Exeter the bishopric was of such late foundation that there was hardly time for any great second church to arise in rivalry to Saint Peter's. Yet at Exeter there were, more than in most cities, the materials for such a growth. There was a local saint, and she had a church without the walls. But Saint Sidwell never had a body of monks or canons devoted to her honour. She remained the lowlier patroness of a mere parish church.

The chief monastic house at Exeter was within the walls. The priory of Saint Nicolas grew out of the foundation of Gytha which the Conqueror had granted to his abbey of Battle. Monks of that house were sent to look after its Exeter property, first Gunther, then Cono. In their day, as appears from a charter of William Rufus, the church of Saint Olaf

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was rebuilt and received a new dedication to Saint Nicolas. Moreover, through the care of Cono, the settlement grew into a separate priory, dependent on the parent house at Battle, but having its own endowments. Among these a charter of Henry the First confirms to the church of Saint Nicolas one which may have been thought a becoming addition to the plundered gifts of Gytha, the lands of one who bore the name of Harold of Exeter. But the bishop and clergy of Exeter looked with no friendly eye on the newcomers. Anselm writes to Bishop Osbern, commending the monks of Saint Nicolas to his favour, and bidding him shelter them from all molestation on the part of his clerks. Specially they are not to be hindered from asking help towards the building of their church in any congregations. Anselm further rebukes the bishop himself for hindering the monks from ringing their bells as they were accustomed. This, according to Anselm's view of the canon law, he could do only if they had been monks serving in his own cathedral church.[1] The English-minded bishop partly yielded, and announced his will in an English writing. He and his chapter [2] agree with Abbot Henry of Battle and his monks that the monks of Saint Nicolas may

[1] 'Quod autem prohibetis eos pulsare signa sua secundum ordinem suum, nusquam recte fieri solet nisi ubi monachi in *majori ecclesia civitatis* deserviant. Ubi enim canonici in majori ecclesia civitatis ad serviendum Deo sunt constituti, unusquisque ordo, canonicorum scilicet et monachorum, secundum opportunitatem servitii sibi injuncti, tardant vel festinant signa pulsare absque omni recta prohibitione.'

[2] 'To foran eallum minum canunche innan minum capitule of myne and hyre ealre helf.'

ring their bells when they will, save only on Christmas-day, Easter-eve, and the feast of Saint Peter and Saint Paul. In return they are to join the canons in procession twice in the year, on Palm Sunday and Ascension-day.[1]

The priory of Saint Nicolas always kept a certain dependence on the abbey of Battle, receiving its priors from the parent house and paying it a pension, but otherwise managing its own affairs. The house received some gifts in an unexpected quarter. Miles of Cogan and others granted to it lands, tithes, and an island, in conquered Ireland: but the absentee landlords never got full possession. More interesting for Exeter history is another deed of the reign of Henry the Second, in which the monks buy off various claims on land which had been given them near the church of Saint John in the city. It is pleasant to get so late a glimpse of an English Ælfgifu ('Paganus cum Alveva uxore sua'); but it is more important to see a Reeve of Exeter and his surroundings, and to get the first distinct mention of the Guildhall. The transaction involved payments of fees to the municipal officers. The Reeve, William Hoel, receives thirty pence according to his right, and four catchpoles one penny each. All is done in the Guildhall of Exeter, in presence of the citizens,[2] and among the witnesses are Hildebert constable of the castle and Baldwin chaplain to the Reeve.

Saint Nicolas was far from being a monastery of the first or even the second rank. The priory of Saint James

[1] 'Cristes upstigan deg.' English was English then.

[2] 'Et Willelmo Hoel tunc præposito jus suum, scilicet xxx denarios, et iv cacapollis, unicuique unum denarium, coram civibus Exon. in Gilthalla. Hæc conventio . . . . in Gilthalla coram civibus civitatis Exoniæ confirmata est.'

outside the walls, known as 'of the Marsh,' the foundation of Earl Baldwin, was of still less account. At some time before 1143 he gave the chapel of Saint James and the church of Tiverton to the Cluniac monks of Saint Martin near Paris, and others gave small pieces of land. An alien house, on a very small scale, for a prior and four monks, arose. One benefactor, 'Walterus filius Walwardi,' who acts 'hærede sua Edith consentiente,' shows the abiding of English names, and also the Norman-named son of the English father. The first prior was Alfred, a name sometimes adopted by the Normans; two of the early monks bear the names of Edward and Siward. There is a charter of the Empress Matilda, 'Anglorum domina,' dated from Oxford, and witnessed among others by Robert of Oily; there is also a deed of 1143, dated 'Stephano rege Angliæ,' in which the Prior of Saint Martin at Paris receives the chapel of Saint James as a grant from the Chapter of Exeter. Earl Baldwin's own charter has no date nor the name of any sovereign.

The mention of Earl Baldwin carries us to a secular foundation at Exeter, of uncertain date but seemingly earlier than his priory, which connects the ecclesiastical and the military element in the city. This is the collegiate chapel in the castle. Such foundations in the dwellings of kings and great men are to be seen in Saint Stephen's at Westminster, in the whole group of *Saintes Chapelles* of which that at Paris is the most famous, and in the glory of the whole class, the royal chapel at Palermo. But the chapel at Exeter was always a small building, hardly reaching the measure of its fellow at Hastings. It stood detached among the

other buildings of the castle, as a complete church with nave and chancel. The first mention both of the building and of its prebendal foundation is not very clear. In a document which mentions Baldwin as Earl and Robert of Chichester (1138–1150) as Bishop, William of Avenel confirms a deed of his father Randolf which gave the church in the castle of Exeter, with its prebends and all their property, to the priory of Plympton. Yet the four prebends went on independently of the priory, and died out only quite gradually in later times. The prebendaries had no dean or other head; the chapel did not rank as a royal free chapel; the patronage was attached to the barony of Oakhampton, and the prebendaries were instituted by the bishop.

The large and constantly increasing number of directly charitable foundations in Exeter form a marked feature in the city. And some of them date from these times when the city was, so to speak, in making. The bishops, perhaps from the time of Leofric, had an almshouse on the site of the present Vicars' college, then known as the Calenderhay—perhaps from the days of Leofric, and in 1170 a citizen described as William *Prodom*—that is, one may suspect, a *Prud'-homme* or *probus homo* of the city—founded the hospital of Saint Alexius near Saint Nicolas' Priory. Both these foundations were afterwards merged in the Hospital of Saint John by the East Gate, founded by Gilbert and John Long about 1225. Another early foundation was the Lepers' Hospital of Saint Mary Magdalen outside the South Gate, of which Bishop Bartholomew was, not the founder, but a benefactor. He gives it several sources of income, among others the

bark from his wood at Chudleigh. The inmates of the hospital were strictly forbidden to go into the city. The Lepers' Hospital was at first in the patronage of the bishops, and Saint John's in that of the city; afterwards the two were exchanged.

Lastly, if Exeter was to put on the full aspect of a mediæval city, it was almost needful that some settlements of friars should be made there. So it was; both Franciscan and Dominican churches arose in the course of the thirteenth century. But their beginnings are undated. The Franciscans or Grey friars planted themselves on their first site between the North and West gates at some time between 1220 and 1240. The Black friars or Dominicans had their house on the north side of Saint Peter's churchyard, but outside the bounds of the close. Their founder was a bishop, most likely William Briwere.

One chief character of Exeter, more than in most other cities, is that there the cathedral church has ever been without rival or second. The poverty of the parish churches and the utter destruction of the monasteries make it now conspicuously so; but, even when the monasteries of Exeter were standing, Saint Peter's must have stood by itself in a way which the far greater minsters of York and Norwich could hardly have done. Moreover none of the monastic foundations were of strictly native growth; none of them had a history likely to call up much local attachment. They were settlements from outside, that of Saint James distinctly a foreign settlement, which supplanted earlier local foundations. It might have been otherwise if anything

on a great scale had grown up in honour of the local saint. But this was not to be; the episcopal church of Exeter has, ever since the foundation of the bishopric, been the one ecclesiastical centre of the city.

That church was now to be brought to completion as regards its ecclesiastical foundation. The third of the changes of this time was the final organization of the chapter of Saint Peter's. It now took the general form of such foundations in England, with some peculiarities of its own; and that form, allowing for modern changes, it has kept ever since. The Lotharingian discipline, so distasteful to Englishmen, gradually decayed. Before the twelfth century was out, we hear of vicars. They are indeed claimed as coeval with the bishopric, but only on the strength of statutes dating from 1268. Vicars arose through the non-residence of canons, and non-residence would certainly not be endured in the case of canons bound by the strict rule of Chrodegang. In any case there were vicars in 1194, when they received an endowment of the usual kind by the appropriation of the church of Woodbury. The chapter itself was not fully remodelled till the time of William Briwere, bishop from 1224 to 1244. The foundation of the deanery is dated in 1225. Till that time the canons had no permanent head. The other usual dignitaries, præcentor, chancellor, and treasurer, were in being, and of these the treasurer had a separate estate in 1180. The præcentor, everywhere at least second in rank, was doubtless the president. The chapter, as now settled, was formed of twenty-four canons or prebendaries, appointed of course by the Bishop, one of whom was to be their head by the usual English title of dean. In all the old founda-

tions the dean was simply one, the first, among the canons; and the deanery of Exeter was created by an act of the chapter itself. The document recites that the church of Exeter had hitherto been without a dean, but that now the Chapter, with the consent of the Bishop, ordain that, after the pattern of other cathedral churches, one of the canons shall for the future be chosen dean, by the chapter and from the chapter. His spiritual duties are marked out, but his commons is to be (till otherwise provided) that of a simple canon, and he is to have no jurisdiction in any temporal matters beyond that of a simple canon. One singularity in the Exeter foundation was that, though the canons held prebends, and though each canon, besides his institution by the Bishop, was further admitted to his prebend by the dean, yet none but the dean and other dignitaries had separate estates. The prebend of each canon who was not a dignitary consisted only in an allowance in money, fixed at first at four marks yearly, from the common funds of the chapter. The practice of non-residence and the appointment of vicars is fully recognized in the act. The vicars of canons who are present are to be appointed by themselves with the consent of the chapter; the vicars of absent canons are to be appointed by the chapter, subject to their removal by their masters on their return.

In truth the ecclesiastical growth of Exeter was slow. Both the fabric and the constitution of Saint Peter's lingered behind that of most English churches. The rebuilding which commonly began under the Conqueror was at Exeter delayed till Henry the First; much of the ancient building must have been standing late in the twelfth century, unlike almost

every other great church except Wells and Beverley. The delay in the reconstruction of the chapter is more remarkable still. And one great temporal improvement was also strangely delayed. The Exe was not spanned by a stone bridge till after the time which we have reached, when the Exebridge was built by the gifts of a bountiful citizen, Walter Gervase, Mayor in 1231 and in 1239, who died in 1259. He is said to have spent on it the incredible sum of £10,000. The bridge had an allotted revenue of £15 11*s.* 4*d.*, and, like many other bridges, it was hallowed by a chapel built on it, in which the founder seems to have been buried. It crossed the river between the two islands, it passed close by the church of Saint Edmund called 'super pontem,' and so reached the West gate, and the elder line of the main Western street. The tide naturally comes up to Exeter, and a little beyond; so as long as the city was in full possession of the stream, vessels could come up from the sea, and unlade their wares at the Water gate near the new bridge.

By these several changes Exeter had now, in the course of the thirteenth century, the great creating and destroying century throughout the world, reached its full growth. It had put on all the usual features of an English city, all those too that specially distinguish the city of Exeter. The work of making is now done. The city stands forth fully finished, in all its points, municipal and military, episcopal, monastic, and parochial. The Exeter that now is has begun its life.

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CHAPTER IV.

EXETER AND THE KINGDOM OF ENGLAND.

1225–1688.

EXETER is thus fully formed as a city, a walled city, a seat of trade, the undisputed local capital of a great shire, towards which it seems then, as now, to have taken up more of the position of a capital than most English shire-towns. The city, as it stood in the first half of the eleventh century, has received within its walls two new elements of different kinds, ecclesiastical and military. The buildings thus made needful have become its chief buildings. The bishop and his clergy, with their head church rebuilt in a new and more stately fashion, now hold a great place in the city. Opposite to the great church, on the height where the *arx* of the Roman had given way to the *burh* of the West-Saxon, the *burh* of the West-Saxon has again given way to the Norman *castle*, and all that the Norman castle implies. In the presence of these two foreign elements, each representing a power distinct from the city itself, it was needful that the elder element should strengthen itself against powers which were not unlikely to encroach upon its ancient rights. A bishop, besides his spiritual position, was a powerful lord with great temporal

estates and rights. His chapter was a corporate body, also holding temporal estates and powers. Questions might well arise between the city and the clerical new-comers on the south side, as well as between the city and the military new-comers on the north side. The new municipal constitution, placing the citizens under the headship of a magistrate of their own choice, clearly gave them greater power of united and vigorous action. Exeter now had a bishop and a palace, a lord and a castle; in their presence she all the more needed a mayor and a guildhall, and now she has both.

But from this completion of the growth of the city, the nature of its history changes, and, from the general point of view, its interest lessens. The making of each of the cities of England, the course of events which gave each its special position and character, are an essential part of national history. When the city is made, it goes on doing its work and living its life, as part of the greater whole, the nation. What the character of its later history may be depends on the date of its full making. In some great towns their full growth came so late that their history is practically wholly modern. Some, like Manchester, have an ancient and a mediæval history; but it is so scanty as to be of interest mainly on account of what comes after. Here at Exeter it is the other way. The later history is mainly of interest as continuing the earlier. At Manchester we search out the old because of the new; at Exeter we linger with the new because of the old. At Coventry again there is no early history, and the recent history is not of first-rate importance. Between the two comes a brilliant and specially marked mediæval history, which

is the distinctive history of Coventry. At Manchester then the earlier history is a mere porch to the later; at Exeter the later history is a mere appendage to the earlier. Still the earlier history left its special stamp on the later. Exeter kept somewhat of its old rank as the head of a land and people. And the marked local character of that land and people may well be largely owing to the history of its head. That the Briton long abode at Exeter, that he was at last swept away from Exeter, are no small facts. They helped to mark off the surrounding land alike from lands whence the Briton was swept away earlier and from lands where he was not swept away at all. Devonshire is a marked part of England; but it still is part of England; it is not as Wales, it is not even as Cornwall. The peculiar history of the capital of Devonshire has perhaps had a good deal to do with this.

In this way the history of Exeter still keeps a national interest. The position and character of the city have caused it to play an important part in national history. Some scenes of English history have a specially Western character, and in these Exeter naturally holds a chief place. The possession of the head city of the West was an object of importance to all contending parties. Exeter therefore saw a good deal of fighting after the days of Stephen. Nor was it merely that armies must meet somewhere, and that they chanced to meet at Exeter. As a good deal of English history was done at Exeter, so a good deal of it was done there because it was Exeter. Alongside of this national story there is also a strictly local story, municipal and ecclesiastical;

and this again, beyond its local interest, helps, as ever, to illustrate the general history of the country.

The national history of Exeter, the relation of the city to the Kings of England and to the general affairs of their kingdom, naturally falls into several sections. Between the stirring tale which lasts from Alfred to Stephen, and an almost equally stirring tale which begins with the quarrels of York and Lancaster, comes a time of about two hundred years in which Exeter contributes little to general history. The city was now and then visited by kings; but they did not come at the head of armies. The main fighting of these times was done elsewhere. The story is mainly one of the relations between the city and its sovereigns, as also between the city and its intermediate lords, as they gradually sink from something like local princes into mere receivers of a rent-charge. A time follows, in which Exeter again fills a prominent place in national history. The city is besieged over and over again; kings show themselves in a place which becomes one of the chief objects of every revolution; Exeter stands out as the head of a land which has a separate being, and he who would hold the body finds that he must have possession of the head. No time since the eleventh century is so thick in local events which were also national events as the second half of the fifteenth. Nor is this character lost in the times that followed. In the revolutions of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Exeter has no small share. In the sixteenth century the West has a religious war of its own; in the seventeenth it takes a prominent part in the great national strife. The series of national events in which Exeter played

its part is wound up by the coming from beyond sea of another William on an opposite errand to that of the William of the eleventh century. After that time Exeter has only the ordinary history of a modern city of its own class, one of those towns which, while in many ways positively advancing, have relatively fallen back. In other words the later history is a mere appendage to the earlier.

In the city thus formed, the castle, the guildhall, the cathedral church, are each one an emblem of an element in a varied history, stretching from the thirteenth century to the seventeenth. That history falls naturally into three periods. In the first, reaching from Henry the Third to Henry the Sixth, the municipal life of the city is steadily growing or perhaps falling back, but its share in national events is comparatively small. In the second, the time of the dynastic wars of the latter half of the fifteenth century, Exeter is prominent, rather passively perhaps, in every national struggle. In the third comes the part played by Exeter in the religious and political changes of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. As the tale, though with these marked divisions, is in some sort one, it may be best to treat the whole history of the city in relation to the kings and the kingdom in a single chapter, but to break its length by sections answering to the three periods.

§ 1. EXETER AND ITS LORDS. 1231–1469.

The lordship of Exeter granted to Richard Earl of Cornwall—His charters as King of the Romans, and those of his son Edmund—Beginning of parliamentary representation—Rights of the city questioned—First visit of Edward the First—Fortification of the close—Murder of Walter of Lechlade—Isabel Countess of Devonshire—Disputes between the city and the earls—Second visit of Edward—The lordship reverts to the crown—More charters—Creation of the duchy of Cornwall—Visit of Prince Edward—Contribution of Exeter to the wars—Dukes of Exeter—Acts of parliament touching the city—Visit of Henry the Sixth.

We have seen that the first part of the thirteenth century was the time in which Exeter put on its present shape, municipal and ecclesiastical. Meanwhile events both local and national were going on. William Briwere, the bishop under whom the chapter was constituted, played some part in the world. In 1227 he figured among the leaders of the crusading army, and, according to Pope Gregory, he stood a siege at the hands of the Emperor Frederick. Seven years later he had the commission of leading to the same Emperor his English bride the Lady Isabel. Some years later the city itself was to have its own view of the majesty of Augustus. In 1231 Henry the Third granted the city, that is the royal rights over it, to his brother Richard Earl of Cornwall. He granted him also the guardianship of the castle, taken away from Robert of Courtenay, as part of the Cornish earldom. Six and twenty years later, the Earl of Cornwall and lord of Exeter rose, in name at least, to the highest place on earth, called to wear, if not, like Frederick, the golden crown of Rome,

yet at least the silver crown of Aachen. The city might seem to share in the exaltation of her lord, when charters were granted to her mayor, bailiffs, and citizens, under the royal seal of the King of the Romans, and dated in the third year of his reign. All the rights of the city are confirmed at the old fee-farm of thirteen pounds and nine shillings, only the Earl and King keeps to himself the right of laying a reasonable tallage on his city of Exeter, whenever his brother the King of England levies a tallage on his cities and boroughs. It might seem that Isca had gone back to the allegiance of Cæsar; only the grants of the ever august King are dated within the dominions of his formally lowlier brother, and it was in his character of his brother's subject, a very real earl if but a shadowy King and Cæsar, that Exeter and England had to deal with him. His earldom and lordship passed to his son Edmund, and a charter of his in the year 1286 points to a dispute between the city and its lord. The citizens had trespassed against him, but he lays aside his wrath, and even respites the payment of 50 marks out of a sum of 250 marks due to him, reserving the power of still claiming it if they trespassed again. Earl Edmund was not likely to be, for those times, a harsh or unjust lord; but the wrath of princes is easily stirred by any lack of respect, and we should gladly know how the citizens of Exeter had brought their lord's anger on them.

A subject could thus still put on somewhat of the tone of a sovereign towards the citizens of Exeter. We might well conceive the Western lands and their capital winning or keeping that position under an inter-

mediate lord which made the earldom of Chester and the bishopric of Durham so far independent of the kingdom at large that they had no share in its national representation. With Exeter it was not so; the city, without reaching the local independence of a city of Richard's kingdom, was, between Richard's charter and those of his son, admitted to a full share of the common freedom of England. As an integral part of the nation, it had sent two of its citizens to Earl Simon's famous gathering in 1264, and it has sent two citizens—or persons conventionally so called—to every Parliament summoned by an English king from King Edward in 1295 till the last changes in 1885. When Exeter first chose her representatives, the two kingly brothers, her sovereign and her immediate lord, were both practically prisoners in the hands of the deliverer of the nation. At other times King Richard may have mused from the walls of Rougemont on the difference between an English and a German city, between the mightiest English earl and a count or duke who knew no king but Cæsar. The authority of the King of England over city and castle remained untouched into whatever hands the royal fee-farm might be paid. In 1266, when the two kings were free again, Henry appointed keepers of the castle. Earl Edmund, if he confirmed the charters of his father, witnessed those of his mighty cousin. In the third year of his reign, 1274, Edward grants various tolls to the city (the mayor, bailiffs, and 'probi homines') for three years, towards defraying the cost of a work doubtless much needed, the paving of their streets. In Edward's fifth year, 1276, the city had to prove its rights in answer

to the writ of *quo warranto*. It was satisfactorily shown that the rights of the city, its fee-farm rent and its fairs, dated from a time before the Norman Conquest, and on the head of fairs Domesday was boldly referred to for matters which are hardly to be found in its pages. The holding of a fair was then a profitable right, coveted by any person or corporation. The fair of Exeter was held on Lammas-day outside the walls, in the place called Crolldítch, the present Southernhay, lying, as its name implies, to the south of the eastern gate. The lordship of the fair had belonged at different times to the King and the commonalty, to the King alone, and to the priory of Saint Nicolas. It was now again claimed by the citizens, who claimed all rights possessed by their brethren of London.

But, while sovereignty and immediate lordship were still divided, Exeter saw something in his own person of the greatest of our later kings. Like the unconquered namesake whose work it fell to him to do again, like his son who made Exeter a purely English city, the new conqueror of the Briton gathered the estates of his realm around him in the city of the West. King Edward and Queen Eleanor kept the Christmas of 1285–6 at Exeter. The King gave his mind to both local and national matters. Like the kings of old, he sought the peace of the realm. The Statute of Coroners, passed in the Parliament now held at Exeter, was one of the fruits of his care. In the same interest he granted to the Bishop and Chapter of Exeter the right to fence in the close or ecclesiastical precinct with a wall and gates. The open churchyard had become the scene of many disorders and offences,

and it was already sought to fence off the burying-ground from the houses of the citizens. Thus in a deed a little earlier, of September 1285, Walter of Doddridge and his wife Benedicta give up to the Bishop and Chapter their right to enter the churchyard through the door of their house in the High Street. Advantage was taken of the King's presence to do the work more thoroughly. It was on behalf of the public safety that, by the agreement of the local powers, civil and ecclesiastical, of the lord of the city Earl Edmund, and of the King himself, the close of Exeter became a fortified enclosure. Three documents are extant. The citizens ('tota communitas civitatis Exoniensis') consent (subject to the approval of the King and Earl Edmund) to the erection of the wall and gates by the Bishop and Chapter, which gates they may shut against the citizens after the curfew (ignitegium), save in time of war or other necessity. Those citizens whose houses joined the churchyard might have narrow windows looking into it, but not doors by which they could go in. The King's consent is given in a charter to the Bishop and Chapter dated at Exeter on the first day of the year 1286. Lastly, later in the same year, the Bishop and Chapter engage to build the gates, according to the licence of the King and the Earl, and promise not to enlarge the churchyard, or to hinder the execution of writs by the civic authorities anywhere except in the churchyard itself.

The work now done, one which was done in several other cities about the same time, must have greatly changed the general air of the town. A part was cut off from the rest, a part stretching to the city

wall on the south-eastern side. But beyond this, it seems to have been now that the ground plan of the city was altogether changed. For some centuries past, the main thoroughfares have ceased to coincide with the old Roman lines. The western wall of the close came right across the western arm of the *chester*, that to which the West gate and the new bridge directly led. This line now became secondary; a new line of street was carried out continuing the eastern limb to a point somewhat left of the West gate. The present High Street of Exeter was formed, and at its crossing with the north and south streets was placed the central object of the city, the *Carfax*, marked by an enriched conduit. The lines thus formed have a deceptive appearance of being those of the original *chester*, but the position of the West gate shows that it was not so. From that gate the main street had to be reached by a turn to the left. The chief gate between the close and the High Street, the Broad gate, now became a prominent object; it parted off the ecclesiastical quarter. The change would doubtless immediately help towards Edward's great object of good order: yet it was a step in the direction of increased ecclesiastical privilege, and it led to fresh disputes between church and city.

Edward's first visit to Exeter is connected in local tradition with a strange story indeed. The præcentor Walter of Lechlade had lately been murdered. A number of letters from Bishop Peter Quivil to the King show that, soon after the King's visit, several clerks were charged with Walter's death. The Bishop asks that their canonical purgation may be accepted as a full acquittal. It is plain then that Edward had taken some

step in the matter while at Exeter. The legend says that the murderer escaped by the South gate, and that, by the King's order, the keeper of the gate and the Mayor of the year of the murder, Alfred *atte Gate*,[1] a leading citizen who had filled the mayoralty several times, were both hanged for their negligence or connivance. No trial is spoken of; Edward does the sharp and swift justice or injustice of an Eastern despot. Such a tale is not to be believed except on the evidence of contemporary documents, and such documents seem not to be forthcoming.

Besides the relations of the city to the national sovereigns and to those subjects who were by their grant its immediate lords, Exeter, like other trading towns, had often to strive against the aggressions of powerful men who had no legal claim over her. The male line of Redvers, Earls of Devonshire or of Exeter, became extinct in 1262. The earldom passed to Isabel, sister of the last Earl Baldwin and widow of William de Fortibus, Earl of Albemarle. She died in 1293; in 1335 the earldom was adjudged to Hugh of Courtenay, a descendant of the house of Redvers in the female line, and whose own house came to hold much the same relation to Exeter which that of Berkeley held to Bristol. The city had to defend her commercial being against successive earls. In Henry the Third's reign the first hindrance to navigation was caused by the Countess Isabel, who made a weir which is still called after her Countess Weir. She did however leave a narrow passage

[1] So we may restore the English shape of *De Porta* and *Duport*, if this last piece of bad French is genuine. Did the Mayor's name suggest the story?

for vessels, but afterwards the passage was closed. The making of weirs by successive earls, the appeals to the law made by the citizens, the way in which the law proved weaker than the will of powerful nobles, form a story which runs on till the reign of Henry the Eighth. It is more strange that the citizens seem not to have availed themselves of the presence of such a king as Edward to obtain justice against their too powerful neighbour.

They had another chance some years later; for in 1297 Edward was again in Devonshire, and he again tarried in the local capital. The walling in of the close had already led to disputes as to rights of way, which Edward decided in favour of the citizens. Three years later the city entered into a yet closer relation with the King. In the year 1300, by the death of Edmund Earl of Cornwall without heirs, the earldom of Cornwall and the city of Exeter fell back into the King's hands The sovereign was now also the immediate lord. The reunion of the city with the Crown was marked by the charter of the twenty-eighth year of Edward, which confirmed all the rights of the city, including all privileges which might have fallen into disuse, and granting further powers with the city and further exemptions from toll throughout all England.

After Edward the First it does not appear that any king came to Exeter in person till the fifteenth century. But the city had important dealings with many successive sovereigns. Under Edward the Second it passed for a moment under the lordship of the King's favourite Piers Gaveston, on whom he bestowed the Cornish

earldom. On the other hand, Bishop Walter of Stapledon was Edward's best minister. A charter of this king establishes the judicial powers of the elective magistrates within the city and its suburbs. The pleas of the Crown were reserved to the officers of the Crown, but the lesser jurisdiction, civil and criminal, pleas of lands and tenements, trespasses and contracts, were entrusted to the mayor and bailiffs. As the city was not yet a distinct county, and as the Earls were dangerous neighbours, this judicial independence was a most timely privilege. In 1318 we find the city, as in old times, supplying its contingent of thirty men for the war against the Scots. A strange story in the same year must have been connected with political objects. A tanner's son of Exeter, John Powderham by name, gave himself out as the lawful king, the true son of King Edward and Queen Eleanor. The reigning prince was a false child for whom he had been exchanged when a babe. He was hanged, and before his death he confessed the falsehood of his story; he had been stirred up to it by a familiar spirit which attended him in the shape of a cat.

In the next reign the rights of the city were again called in question. In 1331 it was seized into the King's hands, and the mayor and citizens were called on to show by what right they claimed to hold it. They pleaded the charters of their lord King Richard and the confirmations of the Kings of England. It was argued that Richard had no estate in the city beyond a rent granted to him for life by the King his brother. His charter was therefore null, and the confirmation of King Edward was null also. But a fine

of fifty marks obtained a new charter by which the citizens were again to hold their city at an increased rent of twenty pounds.

At this time, John of Eltham, the King's brother, was Earl of Cornwall, but his interests seem not to have been regarded. He died in 1334, and in 1337 Edward the Third made a new grant of his honours, the last of the kind, and with a new style. The earldom of Cornwall became a duchy, the first use of the French word in England, a duchy granted in full Parliament to the King's eldest son Edward, presently to be renowned as Prince of Wales and Aquitaine. From this time the duchy has been the appanage of the King's eldest son, born Duke of Cornwall, Prince of Wales and Earl of Chester only if his father thinks good so to create him. With the duchy passed the castle of Rougemont, chief mansion of the manor of Bradninch, and the right to the fee-farm of the city. The grant has been abiding; but now such grants had become harmless. The new Duke received a lofty title and a great estate, but no powers which might, even in the eldest son of the reigning King, become dangerous.

Exeter was thus again brought into close relations with a prince of English birth who won titles and dominions beyond the sea. But the Aquitanian prince, far more eminently in general history, is locally less conspicuous than the Roman king. It marks the advance of the kingdom towards unity that there are no charters of Edward to match the charters of Richard. The contrast between the two would indeed be great, could we believe that Edward once appeared in Exeter with a captive king in his train.

But the local belief that he led John of France from Plymouth to Exeter and hence to London most likely arose out of a confusion with a later visit of the Prince, when he came home as a sick man whose foreign power had passed away, but who could still do good service in his own country. Meanwhile charters and other documents connect the city with general history. In 1358 Exeter, with its port Topsham and Kenton, again gives help in the French wars, three ships, each with sixty well-armed seamen and twenty archers. In 1366 the rights and burthens of the city had again to be set forth in legal form, and, as usual, a number of rights conferred by later charters were boldly carried up to Domesday. The fee-farm is now stated at 39*l.* 18*s.*, of which 25*l.* 13*s.* 3*d.* was paid, by Matilda's gift, to the Trinity priory, and the rest to the Duke of Cornwall, still called Earl in the deed. The accession of Edward's son Richard to the kingdom again united the lordship of Exeter with the crown. And in his day the name of the city first became a mere honorary title of peerage. The King's half-brother John Holland now appears as Duke of Exeter. But he was not so wholly a stranger as some later lords to whom the city has given a title; Duke John built himself a house within the precincts of Rougemont. Under Henry the Fourth he lost his dukedom, and sank to be Earl of Huntingdon. Presently he lost his head; but his honours were restored to his son, and the dukes of Exeter play their part in the history of the fifteenth century, when one of them gave his name to the foreign device of the rack, 'the Duke of Exeter's daughter.' The last of the line, Henry, son-in-law of Richard Duke of York, but a zealous supporter of the cause of Lan-

caster, escaped from Barnet, to live as a beggar and pensioner on the bounty of Charles of Burgundy.

Local tradition claims one warlike deed of Richard the Second's reign for Exeter or its neighbourhood. The fight of Radcot-bridge in 1387, and the discomfiture of Robert de Vere, Marquess of Dublin, have been changed, possibly through confusion with some local skirmish, to a march on Exeter and a defeat there. We are on surer ground with the confirmation of the Exeter charters by both Richard the Second and Henry the Fourth. In the exemplification of the latter king, Domesday was again appealed to; but this time it was truly said that there was nothing there about Saint Sidwell's. It marks the constitutional advance of the Lancastrian times that now not only the King but Parliament steps in to settle local affairs. The matters in dispute between the city and the chapter were settled by an Act of 1436. Sixteen years later, Henry the Sixth visited the city as the guest of the Bishop, his friend Edmund Lacy, and the only act of authority done by the gentle and pious King during his twelve days' stay was an act of mercy. In that age of pageantry he was received with every sign of joy and respect that church and city could devise. But on the day of his coming the judges were holding their assize in the hall of the Bishop's palace. Two men were convicted of treason, and received sentence, doubtless to the usual horrible punishment of that crime. Henry was always ready to grant forgiveness to his enemies; but now it was further set before him that the holding of the assize in the Bishop's hall was a breach of the privileges of the Church. On this score the traitors were pardoned.

Henry the Sixth, like Edward the First—strange names to come together—came to Exeter to do the ordinary duty of a king sworn to do justice and mercy. The next king who came thither, if he actually entered it in peace, came on an errand of war. The second period of warfare and sieges had begun.

§ 2. EXETER IN THE WARS OF YORK AND LANCASTER. 1469–1497.

Exeter during the Wars of the Roses—Siege of 1470—Coming of Clarence and Warwick—Visit of Edward the Fourth—Clarence and Warwick again at Exeter—Exeter the headquarters of Margaret—Visit of Richard the Third—*Richmond* and *Rougemont*—Exeter under Henry the Seventh—Siege threatened by the Cornish rebels in 1497—Siege by Perkin Warbeck—Reception of Henry the Seventh.

We have now reached a time when the name of Exeter becomes more prominent in the general history of the kingdom than it had been since the anarchy of Stephen. We are again in the age of civil war; but civil war does not now mean, as it did in Stephen's day, an utter break-up of society. In the wars of York and Lancaster a battle or a revolution but slightly touched those who were not personally engaged in it. The king often changes: but there is always some king in whose name the ordinary administration can go on. A Mayor of Exeter of this age was said in a Latin couplet to have lived under five kings, and to have been a magistrate under four.[1] This was John

[1] 'Tempore quinque suo regnantes ordine vidit;
Horum eirenarcha ad quatuor ille fuit.'

The pentameter might perhaps have limped less if his office had been described by some simpler word.

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Attwill, mayor in various years from 1477 to 1497. In his day Exeter was visited by three of the kings under whom he served, and each of the three had come to the crown by the deposition or violent death of his predecessor. The wars which first overthrew Henry the Sixth and placed Edward the Fourth on the throne left little local record. The heart both of city and shire was on the Lancastrian side, but the wise men of Exeter always knew how to stand well with the powers that were. Edward favoured trade, and sought the good will of the burghers everywhere. It marks an age of revolution that his first Parliament confirmed the act of Henry's reign which settled the question of Saint Sidwell's. The Lancastrian kings had been declared usurpers, and it was prudent to have their acts acknowledged by the new powers. In his third year Edward granted the city fresh franchises and powers, only exempting the close from the civic jurisdiction. The Parliament of his sixth year passed an Act for an object which had received the attention of a greater Edward, the paving of Exeter streets. It was indeed an united kingdom in which such a matter could come before the estates of the realm.

In the middle of Edward's reign begins that second series of sieges of Exeter which lasts into the seventeenth century. First came the revolt of Richard Earl of Warwick, the famous King-maker, against Edward, in 1470. The city was, by the intercession of Sir Hugh Courtenay, excused from sending men to the King's help. Hugh was a kinsman of earlier, and a forefather of later Earls of Devon. The earldom had now, by the attainder of the Earl who fought at Towton,

passed from his house to that of Stafford. When Warwick had been joined by his son-in-law George Duke of Clarence, and when both had to flee from Edward, Exeter was their city of refuge. First came the Duchess Isabel, with several lords and gentlemen of her husband's party, and a considerable force. The city received them, perhaps willingly; it had presently to stand a siege at the hands of Courtenay, the first siege of the city since the Conqueror's day. Courtenay's zeal in King Edward's cause was thought not to be warm; after twelve days the siege was raised at the mediation of some of the canons of Saint Peter's. Presently Clarence and Warwick themselves tarried for some days in the city till they found the means of sailing to France. Edward was in chase of them; but, when he reached Exeter, on April 14th, 1470, the time for fighting was past; there was room for pageantry only. Both sides put the best face on matters; the city was loyal; the King was gracious. Edward was received with all ceremony, civil and religious, and the morrow of his coming, Palm Sunday, was kept in another sort from the same day ten years earlier at Towton. The citizens gave him a full purse, and he gave them a sword, and all parted friends.

A few months after Edward's visit, Exeter, with the rest of the kingdom, again acknowledged Henry. In August 1470 Clarence, Warwick, and their followers, landed at different Devonshire havens, as in a land where the Lancastrian cause was sure of support, and met at Exeter. The next year Exeter was the headquarters of Margaret of Anjou, when she gathered the Western army that fought at Tewkesbury, and it needed

some policy to ward off Edward's wrath from the city. Clarence was now on his brother's side; in 1473, not long before his last fall, he was again received at Exeter.

The visit of the third son of Duke Richard of York has become more famous than those of his brothers. To Richard the Third the allegiance of the West was yet more doubtful than it had been to Edward. The Bishop, Peter Courtenay, with some of his canons and several chief men of the shire, were suspected of being in league with Henry Earl of Richmond. He was even proclaimed King on October 18, 1483. Richard, newly crowned for the second time at York, hastened to the West, and came to Exeter in November. The Mayor, John Attwill, servant of so many kings, received him with all solemnity and outward joy. But his coming was not bloodless. Lord Scrope came with him as commissioner for the trial of the rebels, and, though most of them were scattered, two were found in Exeter to try and execute, Thomas Saint-Leger, and his esquire John Rame. Saint-Leger was the King's brother-in-law, husband of his sister Anne, now deceased, who had once borne the name of the city as wife of Henry Duke of Exeter. They were both beheaded at the Carfax. But Richard, a skilful soldier and a man of culture, further demanded to be shown all the sights of the city and neighbourhood. He admired the beauty of the site and the military strength of the city and castle. But, when he heard its name of Rougemont, he was, in the words of the all but contemporary writer, 'suddenly fallen into a great dump, and as it were a man amazed.'

Shakespeare has made Richard himself tell the tale in more polished words.

> Richmond! When I last was at Exeter,
> The mayor in courtesy showed me the castle,
> And called it Rougemont—at which name I started,
> Because a bard of Ireland told me once,
> I should not live long after I saw Richmond.

Here the tale is one of that familiar class in which, by some verbal accident, a prediction understood in one sense is fulfilled in another. The point of local interest is that *Rougemont* and *Richmond* were looked on as forms of the same name.

The soothsaying came true. Richard did not live very long after he saw Rougemont castle, and he lived a short time indeed after he saw Richmond in the person of its Earl. But he enjoyed the active support of Exeter. In 1484 he demanded the service of twenty men for twenty days. They doubtless went, though we hear only of the honourable reception given to those who came for them.

The landing of Henry and the overthrow of Richard happened far from Exeter; but the elders of the city were carefully watching the course of events. Soldiers were made ready, and the Guildhall was strengthened with both spiritual and temporal defences. A chapel was built over it, and a gun was planted on the roof with a store of 'gunstones.' The reign of Henry the Seventh saw new sieges of the city. But the feeling of the West had changed. Hitherto the Lancastrian cause has clearly been the popular one, though Yorkist kings were received with formal welcome. Now the West became the main scene of devices against the

king who claimed to represent Lancaster, while either zeal or prudence always kept the city on the side of existing powers. During twelve years of peace at home, the city had only to make, as of old, its contribution of men to the King's army. But, while Richard had demanded only twenty men for service within the kingdom, the city had to furnish Henry with two hundred soldiers well arrayed for service in the Breton[1] expedition of 1488. Presently warfare again began nearer home. The insurrection of Lambert Simnel did not touch Exeter; but the city was closely concerned in the two other risings of Henry's reign. Again, as in the West-Saxon revolt in the Conqueror's day, the city was attacked, neither by an invader nor by a king, but by the people of the Western lands. The Cornish revolt of Flammock and Joseph in June 1497 was stirred up by the heavy subsidies laid on by Henry's Parliament. The rebels marched to Exeter and threatened a siege. Help was vainly sought from Edward Courtenay, Earl of Devonshire. But the rebels shrank from attacking the well defended walls and bridge; and at last the leaders were allowed to pass through the city, while their army marched round the walls of Exeter to Taunton and to their doom at Blackheath. Within a few weeks came a new army of Cornish rebels. Perkin Warbeck—in the eyes of his followers Richard the Fourth—landed at Whitsand on August 7th, and ten days later, at the head of six thousand men, made his way from Bodmin to Exeter. The city was now better prepared; several noblemen and gentlemen were

[1] Izacke, doubtless copying Hoker, calls the land to which they were sent *Britain*, without qualification.

there; the Earl of Devonshire was in his own house within its walls. A summons from the rebels to surrender was unheeded, and the assault began. Artillery was used on both sides; the rebels strove both to scale and to undermine the walls; the North gate was burned; the rebels rushed in, but were driven out; they made a second entry by the East gate—the path of the Conqueror. Rebels and townsfolk were fighting in the streets when the news reached the Earl in his house, and he and his company joined the citizens. The fight was hard, but the rebels were driven out; artillery was brought to play, and the siege was raised. Meanwhile the King was on his march; the two armies met at Taunton, but Perkin's heart failed him, and he sought sanctuary. Henry had only to enter Exeter in a peaceful pageant. John Attwill was ready, in his last mayoralty, to receive him. The King stayed from October 7th to November 3rd, keeping Perkin with him; his letters, dated from Exeter, form part of the materials for the story. He rebuked the Earl and the other noblemen for their slowness in the time of danger; on the citizens he bestowed the highest praise, and gave them a second sword, together with a cap of maintenance, both of which still play their part in municipal ceremonies. A scene characteristic of Henry, who never shed blood but out of policy, followed. The King was lodged in the Treasurer's house, which joined Saint Peter's church on the north side, with a row of sixteen trees before it. Eight of these were cut down that the King—from a fair window newly made—might better see the prisoners, who stood in order, bare-headed with halters round their necks, and cried for mercy. Henry

made a gracious speech, and granted their prayer, 'wherewith the people made a great shout, hurled away their halters, and cried, God save the King.' Henry could well afford to spare 'the commons of the shire of Devon,' as he himself calls them; for the trial of those who were more dangerous or obstinate commissions were issued during his stay.

§ 3. EXETER IN THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES.

A.D. 1501-1688.

Visits of foreign princes and others—Exeter made a county—Improvements by Act of Parliament—Miscellaneous notices—Burning of Thomas Bennet—Sir Thomas Dennis—The revolt of 1549—Narrative of John Hoker—Siege of the city—Deliverance by Lord Russell—Welsh Vicar of Saint Thomas—Reign of Mary—Reign of Elizabeth—Exeter in the Civil Wars—Taken by Maurice in 1643—Birth of Henrietta Maria—Charles the First at Exeter—Taken by Fairfax in 1646—The Commonwealth and Protectorate—Execution of Penruddock and Grove—Share of Exeter in the Restoration—Reign of Charles the Second—Surrender of the Charters—Visit of the Duke of Monmouth—His rebellion—Dealings of James the Second with the Charters—Coming of William of Orange.

We shall see that the visit of Henry the Seventh marks an epoch in the municipal history of Exeter. But there are no stirring events for nearly fifty years, and no personal visits of kings till we reach more stirring times still. But the sixteenth century is marked by a series of visits from members of foreign royal houses, all from the Spanish peninsula. In 1501 Katharine, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabel, landed at Plymouth to play a memorable, if unwilling, part in

English history. She came to Exeter, and her stay at the deanery affected the neighbouring parish church in a strange way.

Whiles she lay in this city, the weather was very foul and windy and full of storms, by reason whereof the weather-cock which was upon the steeple of the church of Saint Mary-the-more, which is adjoining to the said Dean's house, did so whistle that the said Princess could not sleep ; whereupon order was taken that some one man should climb up and pull it down, which was done, but the said man was in great danger ; and after her departure the same was put up again, where it continued until about the year 1580 the wind blew it down, and not long after the whole steeple was pulled down.

Four years later, in 1505, Katharine's sister, destined to a life in another way as unhappy as her own, was brought to Exeter by chance. The parents of Charles the Fifth, the Archduke Philip of Austria, son of the Emperor-elect Maximilian and his wife Joanna, on their way from Flanders to Spain, were driven by foul weather into Weymouth, and were received honourably at Exeter till they went on to the King at Windsor. In the homely speech of John Hoker, 'the Lady Jane,' 'Queen and heir of Castile,' figures as 'Queen Jane,' while her renowned mother is 'Elizabeth.'

In 1543 Exeter had another distinguished guest, though not of royal birth. The ambassador of the Emperor, coming from his Spanish dominions, was looked on at Exeter as a 'Spanish ambassador' only.

Henry the Eighth never showed himself at Exeter, but his reign was memorable there in many ways. In his day the city received the highest privilege that can

be given to an English city or borough. He gave two charters to Exeter, by the second of which, in 1537, the city was severed from the body of the county of Devon, and became a county of itself, with all the rights of a county, under its own Sheriff. The Sheriff of Exeter, unlike the dual Sheriff of London and Bristol, took the form of one man only. But the new county did not take in the whole of the ancient bounds of the city. Rougemont and its precincts, a possession of the King or his heir, were not put under the authority of the elected Sheriff of the city, but remained part of the county of Devon under the authority of a Sheriff of the King's naming. The new county had also its own Lord Lieutenant, though the appointments to the office seem to have been irregular, and it was, sometimes at least, held by the person who was Lord Lieutenant of Devonshire. Two years later Parliament again legislated on a local improvement. By this time a single subject could no longer do damage to a community in defiance of the law. It was time to redress the wrong done by successive earls, and to give back to the city its natural communication with the sea. In 1539 an Act of Parliament was procured 'for the raising of a new work or haven for the better conveyance of goods in boats and barges to and from this city.' Attempts were made to clear the stream, but seemingly with little success till the reign of Elizabeth.

A number of notices in the local records illustrate the state of things during this great period of change. In 1503 and again in 1535, the city suffered from 'the plague of pestilence.' The former visitation carried off two successive mayors and two of the bailiffs. In 1512

the city supplied thirty soldiers for Henry's French wars, and 'a voluntary collection was here made to set them out well arrayed.' It is to the honour of the city that one of its representatives in Parliament, John Bridgeman, 'a wise man and of great experience,' was in 1523 bold enough to speak twice in the House of Commons against the King's demands for money. Twice 'most sharply rebuked' by the Chancellor Wolsey, the first time he 'maintained his sayings;' the second time, alas, 'he never enjoyed himself, but returned to his lodgings, fell sick, and died.' Pity that the dust of so patriotic a citizen did not find its resting place in his own city; John Bridgeman was buried 'in the Savoy in the Strand, London.' It is an entry characteristic of the reign that two years later 'the Lord Henry Courtney, Earl of Devon, was created Marquess of Exeter and shortly afterwards beheaded.' But the words 'shortly afterwards' must be taken with some freedom, as the creation took place in 1525, and the beheading not till 1538. An entry in 1531 suggests a good many thoughts.

Thomas Bennet, a master of arts, was condemned of heresy and a writ *de hæretico comburendo*, being brought to Sir Thomas Dennis, Knight, Sheriff of the county of Devon, commanded a stake to be erected in Southernhay, in order to the said Bennet's execution; which the Chamber would not suffer, and therefore he was carried to Livery-dole and there burned to death.

Thomas Bennet, a friend of the more famous Bilney, was now, after some adventures in other places, teaching a school in Exeter. No one meddled with him till he set up placards on the door of Saint Peter's, declaring the Pope to be Antichrist—a doctrine which a little later

might have won him credit—and the invocation of saints to be unprofitable. But the point in dispute between the Sheriff and the city had nothing to do with theological questions; it marks the privileges enjoyed by the city, even before it became a county of itself. The Sheriff of Devonshire proposed to execute his office within th bounds of the city; this the Chamber would not suffer, and the Sheriff had to burn his heretic on a spot beyond the privileged boundary. This Sheriff, Sir Thomas Dennis, of whom we shall hear again, was a stirring man in local affairs for many years, and was much enriched by grants of church property, He is described as 'a domestic servant to King Henry the Seventh, one of the Privy Council to King Henry the Eighth, Chancellor to Queen Ann of Cleve, Custos Rotulorum of Devon, and lastly seven times Sheriff of the said county.' He was also Recorder of the city for thirty years, from 1514 to 1544.

Of the suppression of the monasteries we shall speak more at large in another chapter. But it concerns us here that in 1539, when one of the arches of the Exe bridge fell down, it was repaired with the stones of the destroyed church of Saint Nicolas. And in 1544 came a yet stronger example of the change of feeling towards things which had been before deemed sacred.

The commons of this city gave a free benevolence towards the reparation of the walls.

The new haven or water-course of the Exe was now begun to be made, towards the charges whereof most part of the parish churches of this city gave some portion of their plate, amounting in the whole to nine hundred ounces of silver, parcel gilt.

This, it should be noticed, is several years before the

general plundering of parish churches under Edward the Sixth.

The reign of Edward was one of the most memorable in the history of Exeter. It saw the siege of 1549. No other siege was so directly connected with changes in thought and feeling, and it alone is described by an eye-witness in full detail. Now, for the first time since Alfred won back the city from the heathen Dane, was Exeter besieged by men who had some ground to look on themselves as crusaders.

John Vowel, alias Hoker, uncle of a more famous nephew, the man to whom we owe most of our knowledge of the history of Exeter for some ages, was born in 1525 and died in 1601. A lawyer by profession, he became in 1555 the first Chamberlain of the city, and held the place till his death. In 1571 he sat in Parliament for the city, as his grandfather John had done in three Parliaments of Edward the Fourth, Richard the Third, and Henry the Seventh. A professional connexion with Sir Peter Carew, whose Life he wrote, led him into Ireland in Elizabeth's time, where he sat in the Irish Parliament for Athenry. One who was appointed to a public office in 1555 must have openly conformed to the faith of Philip and Mary; but, writing by later lights, he records the events of his youth in the tone of a zealous adherent of the Reformation.[1] The religious insurrection of Henry the Eighth's time had

[1] His 'Catalogue of the Bishops of Exeter, &c.,' is dated in 1583, and in the dedication he refers to his 'Antique Description and Account of the City of Exeter' as written 'a few years past.' His Life of Sir Peter Carew is printed in the Calendar of Carew Manuscripts among the Calendars of State Papers.

not touched Exeter, beyond the sending of two hundred soldiers from the city, under that Marquess Henry who presently lost his head, to help in their suppression. In Exeter certainly, perhaps in Devonshire and Cornwall generally, the suppression of monasteries could not have made so much difference as it made in Yorkshire, the land of abbeys. Still an execution for high treason in 1537 may show that the Northern revolters had sympathizers in the West. But to rouse the West to revolt needed a more direct attack on the religion to which the people were used. This came on Whitsunday (June 9), 1549, when the new English service—the first prayer-book of Edward the Sixth—now ordered by act of Parliament to be used in all churches instead of the old Latin services, was first used at Samford Courtenay. On Monday the parishioners with one voice called on their priest to say mass as of old: 'they would keep the old and ancient religion as their forefathers before them had done.' The priest pleaded the law, but yielded, most likely not unwillingly; the magistrates showed weakness; one parish had set the example, and all the diocese of Exeter was presently in a stir against novelties in religion.

The narrative of Hoker, written by an eye-witness, is a precious piece of contemporary history. It is written in a most racy style, with all the hatred to the Pope and the 'Romish religion' which gradually grew in the breast of a magistrate of Elizabeth's day, and which led him to use many phrases in 1580 which were unknown in 1549. Here is his general comment;

> Here doth appear what great detriments do come and ensue to the Church of God, and what great troubles to the

public[1] and commonweale, when as learned preachers do want to teach and instruct the people, and well persuaded magistrates to govern the common state. For these people lacking the one, and not stored with the other, were left to themselves and to their own dispositions; and thereby, partly of ignorance, but more of a froward and rebellious disposition, they do now utterly condemn [contemn ?] to accept, and do openly resist to receive the Reformed Religion, now put, and to be put in execution.

All this is eminently characteristic of the time. The old religion is the popular one; the new, when enforced, is enforced only in obedience to the law. But the religious difference was not all. There was a social quarrel also in Devonshire, as well as elsewhere. Hoker at first distinguishes the two parties in the shire as 'the gentlemen' and 'commons,' and there are clear signs of a quarrel between 'gentlemen' and 'commons' as such. 'The common people, upon false reports, and of a gnat making an elephant, noised and spread it abroad that the gentlemen were altogether bent to over-run, spoil, and destroy them.' Sir Thomas Dennis was vigorous in putting down rebellion; so were others of the great Devonshire families, Courtenays and Carews. Two of the latter name, Sir Peter and Sir Gawen, were sent by the Government to put down the Western rebellion. A skirmish at Crediton, in which the barns which the people had fortified were burned, further kindled the general rage, specially against Sir Peter. Conferences with the rebels failed; the serving men mutinied; Sir Peter and the Sheriff

[1] Hoker's use of 'the public' rather answers to the Greek τὸ κοινόν than to the modern use of the phrase.

Sir Pierce Courtenay had to rebuke the lukewarmness of some of their fellows; the gentlemen, both within and without the city, were mostly scattered hither and thither. Then the revolt took shape, and the rebels named captains, first of all among themselves, but afterwards of a higher class;

The captains then are these: Underhill a tailor, Maunder a shoe-maker, Seager a labourer, and Aisharedge a fish-driver, with sundry other such like, the worst men and the refuse of all others, though most meet in this service. Howbeit it was not long before that certain gentlemen and yeomen of good countenance and credit, both in Devon and Cornwall, were contented, not only to be associates of this rebellion, but also to carry the cross before this procession, and to be captains and guiders of this wicked enterprise, as namely in Devon Sir Thomas Pomeroie, Knight, John Burie and one Coffin gentlemen, and in Cornwall, Humphry Arundell and Winneslade, esquires, and Holmes a yeoman, with sundry others, who for the most part were in the end executed and put to death, and their facts, to the memorial of their perpetual infamy, recorded in chronicles.

Within the city, the Mayor and magistrates, save one backsliding brother, were, like their predecessors at so many earlier times, faithful to the Crown on whatever head. So were those gentlemen of the county who were within the walls.[1] Though most of them, the Mayor, John Blackaller, among them, were, in Hoker's words, 'well affected to the Romish

[1] They were Sir Roger Blewet, Knight, John Beauchamp, Bartholomew Fortescute, John Courtenaie, and John Peter Customer, esquires. This last is not a double name, 'John Peter, the King's customer, a gentleman of good countenance and credit.'

religion, yet they respected their duty to God, their obedience to the King, their fidelity to their country, and safety to themselves.' In 1549 there was not as yet that broad distinction of parties in religion which there was in 1580. No hard and fast line divided Catholics and Protestants, Papists and Protestants, or any other such names. Hoker records the events of 1549 in the language and with the feelings of 1580. One of the objects of the rebels, he says, was 'to support the authority of the idol of Rome, whom they never saw, in contempt of their true and lawful king, whom they knew and ought to obey.' So it was with the plotters of Hoker's later day; but in 1549, if the vast mass of Englishmen were agreed in anything, it was in wishing to have nothing to do with the Pope. The mere phrase of 'support,' when the Pope's authority needed not support but restoration, implies forgetfulness of the actual state of things. The real object of the insurgents was that religion shall be kept as it was under Henry the Eighth; that is, the old worship, but no Pope. Their demands have been printed in various books of English history. The only thing savouring of the Pope is the demand that the Lord Cardinal Pole shall be pardoned and made of the King's Council; but that is 'because he is of the King's blood.' They demand the restoration of the old religion in all things; they 'will not receive the new service, because it is but a Christmas game;' they 'will have the Bible and all books of the Scripture in English called in again.' They demand Church preferment for some of their own friends, and the restoration of some part of the abbey lands to pious uses. One demand is

social; no gentleman shall have more servants than one for every hundred marks of land. Another illustrates the state of language. 'We the Cornishmen, whereof certain of us understand no English, utterly refuse the new English.' To use the universal tongue, understood or not, was no grievance; to have English forced on them was.

Hoker's description of the division of feeling within the city is most graphic;

> In the city were two sorts of people, the one and the greater number were of the old stamp, and of the Romish religion. The other, being of the lesser number, were of a contrary mind and disposition; for they wholly relied themselves to the reformed religion, and to the King's proceedings, and endeavoured themselves to obey and follow the same. The first were so addicted to their own fantasies, and their bottles were so far seasoned with the old wines, that they cannot abide to hear of any other religion than as they were first nuzled in. Wherefore to keep and observe that was their only endeavour, and in respect whereof they regarded not king nor keisar, passed not for kin nor friendship, regarded not country nor commonwealth, but were wholly of the opinion of the rebels, and would have no reformation in religion; and, howsoever all other things fared, that must needs remain as in times past had been used.
>
> The magistrates and chieftains of the city, albeit they were not as yet fully resolved and satisfied in religion, yet they, not respecting that, but chiefly their dutifulness to the King and commonwealth, nothing like the rebellion, nor bear with the same, but they do all things to defend the city and themselves against their rebellious attempts; and likewise do their best endeavour to keep their own citizens in peace and quietness. Whereupon the favourers

of the old Romish religion, being inwardly grieved that they could not have their will, nor obtain to have the gates to be opened, that those good and religious men (as they termed them) might come in, they used private conferences with them, sometimes by secret conferences over the walls, sometimes by private letters privily conveyed to and fro, by messengers lurking and attending for the same, sometimes by open speeches in times of truce, and many times by bills and letters bound fast about arrows, and so shot to and fro ; and by these and other such like means they discovered, each one to the other, their purposes and wicked devices and practices : all which tended to this effect, to betray the city, and to set up the religion.

On July 2nd the siege began. The rebels had already sent a message to the Mayor, praying him to join with them. 'A full, resolute, and direct' refusal led to a stronger message 'requiring and commanding them to maintain the old Catholic religion with them, and to do as they did, or else they would besiege them, and perforce compel them thereunto.' To this 'the Mayor and his brethren returned their former answer, adding moreover that they in their doings were wicked and bad men, and they did and would repute them for enemies and rebels against God, their King and country, and so renounced them.' Two thousand men now came beneath the walls, 'thinking that, notwithstanding the answer before made, yet because the most part of the citizens were of their opinions and of the like affections in religion, they would not resist them; as also that they had many friends within the city more ready to join with them than to follow the Mayor, if they might have the choice what to do.' A third proclamation was made 'that if the city would not yield and

join with them, they would enter by force and take the spoil of it.' The wealth of Exeter was a bait to the country folk; 'many of them brought their wives, horses, and panniers, persuading themselves and promising them, by such a day and upon such a day, to enter into the city, and then to measure velvets and silks by the bow, and to lade their horses home with plate, money, and other great riches.' They now occupied the suburbs and began the siege.

The city was now hemmed in. Bridges were broken, roads entrenched and watched, pipes and conduits cut, and ordnance, which the rebels had brought from Topsham, planted against the gates and at other points. But wells within the walls supplied the loss of the conduits; attempts to fire the gates led to strengthening them by stronger 'rampires' behind them; when the rebels took to undermining the walls, and designed further to blow them up with gunpowder, John Newcombe, tinner, contrived to drown with water all hopes of that kind. But there were traitors within. John Wolcot, one of the Chamber, had dealings with the rebels: a plot was found out for betraying the castle with the connivance of the soldiers who guarded it; Richard Taylor, a clothier, tried to kill Customer Peter; Frances Duffeld, when her father Bernard Duffeld quarrelled with John Courtenay and was put in ward, 'waxed so warm that not only she used very unseemly terms and speeches unto the Mayor, but also, contrary to the modesty and shamefacedness required in a woman, especially young and unmarried, ran most violently upon him and strake him in the face.' Worse than all, towards the end of the siege men became tired of

the strait confinement, hard service, and at last lack of food—'the most part of the poor people were weary and for want of victuals would not endure to be pinned in any longer.' Then the malcontents went beyond secret plotting.

On a Sunday, being but two days before the delivery of the city, about eight of the clock in the forenoon, a company of them in every quarter of the city, having their comforts in a readiness to join and serve with them (if need so required), get into the streets, walking with their weapons and in their armour as to fight with their enemies, and cry out: 'Come out these hereticks and two-penny book-men! Where be they? By God's wounds and blood we will not be pinned in to serve their turn: we will go out and have in our neighbours; they be honest, good and goodly men.' Their pretence and meaning being then, that if any of the contrary side had come out, they would have quarrelled with them and have taken occasion to set upon them, and so raise a new tumult.

But no praise is too strong for the 'honest and good citizens,' the 'ancientest of the city,' all the more because, being *nuzled* in the Romish religion, they were affected thereunto. Of the Mayor we read specially:

This mayor being a merchant, and only exercised in that trade, had small reach in matters of policy or martial affairs. He was mayor of the city three times, and in every year there grew some troubles in the city; but he had such a special care and regard to his charge and government, that he would never attempt nor do any thing therein, but by the advice and counsel of wise, grave, and expert men; and God so blessed him, that he prospered and had good success in all his doings.

In a war of religion we ask what line was taken by the clergy. Exeter was at that time practically without a bishop. John Voysey, bishop since 1519, was attached to the old state of things, but he took no active part either way. The rebellion however 'in some part was imputed unto this bishop, because he lay far from it and dwelled in his own country.' We hear nothing of the Dean, Simon Haynes, a reformer after a type of his own, but 'the canons of the cathedral church which at that time were resident in their houses within the close there,' 'with others of the said church,' 'joined with the Mayor and citizens in this service for the safety of the city, and did keep both watches and wards, and their men ready at all times to serve in every alarm and skirmish.' The law was doubtless fully obeyed, and the English service duly said in Saint Peter's. All the clergy however were not of their mind; Welsh the Vicar of Saint Thomas was 'a captain and principal leader in the cause of the rebellion, which was chiefly directed by him, his orders and advice.' In him Hoker gives a curious picture of a parson of the time.

He was a very good wrestler: shot well both in the long bow and also in the cross bow; he handled his handgun and piece very well; he was a very good woodman and a hardy, and such a one as would not give his head for the polling, nor his beard for the washing; he was a companion in any exercises of activity, and of courteous and gentle behaviour; he descended of a good, honest parentage, being born at Penuerin in Cornwall; and yet in this rebellion an arch-captain and a principal doer.

Sallies and skirmishes were common: specially,

'when any cattle came near to the walls of the city, some shift was made to have them by skirmishing and issuing out for them or by some other means.' For hunger now pressed hardly; Exeter had come again to the state mocked at by the Jew of the twelfth century. 'Albeit there were very good store of dry fish, rice, prunes, raisins, and wine, at very reasonable prices, yet bread which, as the prophet saith, *confortat cor hominis*, strengtheneth man's heart, that wanted, neither was any to be had.' In this strait 'the bakers and householders were driven to seek up their old store of puffins and bran, wherewith they in times past were wont to make horsebread, and to feed their swine and poultry; and this they moulded up in cloths, for otherwise it would not hold together, and so did bake it up, and the people well contented therewith.' Where so many hearts were with the besiegers, it was needful to keep the people as contented as might be, and care was taken that such food as there was should be fairly distributed to all men. The prisoners in the gaol seem to have fared best; at least the besiegers of 878 would have thought so. 'In the end, for want, they were fed on horse-flesh, which they liked, and were well contented withal.'

After five weeks' siege, deliverance came on August 6, a day which in Hoker's time, 'in memorial for ever to endure, was kept for a high and holy feast among the citizens.' The deliverer was John, Lord Russell, Lord Privy Seal, and afterwards Earl of Bedford, whom the suppression of monasteries had made a great landowner in Devonshire and the owner of a mansion in Exeter. The presence of one of the new nobility in

the city and the fall of the old Courtenay enemy outside had brought Exeter under new influences. Russell was at Hinton Saint George in Somerset, where the news of the rebellion was brought to him by Sir Peter Carew. Carew was sent to London by Russell, where his reception by the Protector Somerset and the Lord Chancellor Rich was a little startling. They threatened him with hanging, as having caused the commotion by burning the barns at Crediton. He pleaded the 'King's letters under his hand and privy signet,' but was told that they were no sufficient warrant; only a commission under the Broad Seal could save him from hanging. He did however at last get letters to Lord Russell from the King and Council, but the action of the Government was strangely slack. Russell, almost in despair, marched from Honiton towards Exeter, with such forces as he could raise, and twice beat the rebels at Fenington. The second victory was won over a 'new crew of Cornishmen,' described as 'very tall men, lusty, and of good courage, and who, in a good cause, might have done better service.' But Russell, instead of marching to the relief of Exeter, turned back to Honiton, and thence sent letters to the Mayor, all because his fool had heard bells ringing in some churches on the road, which made them think that the whole country had risen against them. Presently his force was strengthened by Lord Grey of Wilton, 'with a crew of horsemen, and one Spinola an Italian with 300 shot,' who are afterwards spoken of as 'the Burgonians, who were abhorred of the one party, and nothing favoured of the other.' These 'Burgonians' are doubtless men from *Burgoyne* or Burgundy, that is,

neither the duchy nor the kingdom, but the Burgundian possessions of the Emperor, what we should now call Belgium and perhaps Franche Comté. It is characteristic of the reign of Edward the Sixth that these hired strangers were employed to put down an English revolt. With this new force, and further strengthened by the pious eloquence of Miles Coverdale, presently to be bishop of the diocese, Russell marched on. His troops were everywhere victorious in actual fight, though even the picked hirelings of the Empire found no mean enemies in the men of the West; 'they were of very stout stomachs, and also very valiantly did stand to their tackles.' Yet at Bishops Clist the Lord Privy Seal and his company were driven to flight, being 'amazed' at the simple device of the rebel Sir Thomas Pomeroy, who, being hidden in a furze close, caused a trumpet and a drum to be suddenly sounded. The rebels took much spoil, among it several pieces of ordnance; but they were again defeated, and 'at eight of the clock, being Tuesday the 6th of August, 1549,' Lord Russell stood under the walls of Exeter, from which the besiegers had vanished.

The Mayor and his brethren went out and warmly greeted the deliverer. In the course of two days victuals were supplied to the hungry city by the 'special industry and travels' of a thousand Welshmen led by another of the men who had become great out of the spoils of the Church, Sir William Herbert, afterwards Earl of Pembroke. These last, 'though they came too late for the fray, yet soon enough to the play. For the whole country was then put to the spoil, and every soldier sought for his best profit.' Russell stayed twelve days at Exeter, 'setting all things in

good order, rewarding the good and punishing the evil.' That is to say, vengeance was taken after the usual fashion of the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries. Russell shed blood without mercy and without form of law. On the way he slaughtered a great number of prisoners. And, by a still stranger stretch of authority, he took on him to grant away the lands of the gentlemen who had taken a share in the revolt, though in the end he took them to London for trial. Thus the lands of Wineslade and Humphrey Arundell were granted to the two Carews, Sir Peter and Sir Gawen. And 'to many others, which had done good services, he gave prisoners, both bodies, goods, and lands.' It is hard to see what they who got goods and lands wanted with the bodies, otherwise the grant of a man out of whom a ransom might be squeezed was common enough in those days.

On the other side he commanded furches and gallows to be set up in sundry places, as well within the city as also in the country, and did command and cause many to be executed and put to death, especially such as were noted to be chief and busy doers and ringleaders in this rebellion.

The most remarkable execution was that of the athletic vicar of Saint Thomas. He was charged, besides using the old service, with having caused the hanging of one Kingwell for having carried letters to Lord Russell, and further because he 'was earnest in the Reformed religion, *which was then termed the King's proceedings*, and an enemy to the Popish state.' We here see how Hoker translated into the language of thirty or forty years later. 'The King's proceedings,' 'the King's

most godly proceedings,' was a common name for the changes of the time; while 'the Reformed religion,' like the 'Romish' religion, savours of 1580. With the same mixture of the language of two dates, we read that Welsh 'did not only persuade the people to the contemning of the Reformed religion, according to the King's proceedings, and to keep and observe the Popish and Romish religion, but did also erect, keep, and use the same in his parish church.'

Yet Welsh had in some sort saved Exeter, an act which wrings some praise even from Hoker.

There was among the rebels a stranger and alien, who was a very skilfull gunner, and could handle his piece very well, and did much harm unto the city, and among others slew one Smith, standing at a door in Northgate-street, with a great shot from St. David's Hill. This fellow took upon him, that he would set the whole city on fire; and it should be clean burned within four hours, do then what they could. This his offer was so well liked, that the day and time was appointed when this should be done.

The Vicar of St. Thomas, hearing thereof, assembled unto him as many men as he could make and have, and came to this company when the fire should be kindled; and was so hot and earnest against their attempts, that he would in no wise suffer so lewd an act and wicked a thing to be done. For (saith he) do what you can by policy, force, or dint of sword, to take the city, I will join with you, and do my best; but to burn a city, which shall be hurtful to all men and good to no man, I will never consent thereunto, but will here stand with all my power against you. And so stout he was in this matter, that he stopped them from their enterprizing of so wicked a fact. But to the matter. The execution of this man was committed to Barnard Duffeld, who, being nothing slack to follow his

commission, caused a pair of gallows to be made, and to be set up upon the top of the tower of the vicar's parish church of St. Thomas : and, all things being ready, and the stage perfected for this tragedy, the vicar was brought to the place, and, by a rope about his middle, drawn up to the top of the tower, and there in chains hanged in his popish apparel, and had a holy water bucket and sprinkle, a sacring bell, a pair of beads, and such other like popish trash, hanged about him ; and there he with the same about him remained a long time. He had a very small or no confession, but very patiently took his death. He had been a good member in his commonwealth, had not the weeds overgrown the good corn and his foul vices overcomed his virtues.

Lord Russell had yet to fight one more battle at Samford Courtenay, the place where the revolt first began. A remnant fled into Somerset, and were there finally overthrown by Sir Peter Carew and Sir Hugh Paulet. Russell himself meanwhile, 'minding to make all things sure, taketh his journey and marcheth into Cornwall; and, following his former course, causeth execution to be done upon a great many, especially upon the chief bellwethers and ringleaders.' Yet Hoker says that he 'was very severe and sharp against such offenders as were chief and principal ringleaders of this rebellion, but to the common sort, who were led and carried and did humble themselves, he was pitiful and merciful and did daily pardon infinite numbers.' He could not well slay all; and a popular movement, which was simply joined by a few men of local importance after it had begun, certainly differed from revolts where the people had blindly followed some great lord. The rebels of 1549 at least knew what they were

fighting for; but their attempt was crushed, and 'the King's proceedings' were carried out throughout Devonshire and England.

The city had now to receive its reward for its good service in the rebellion. Foremost was the grant of the long claimed Exe Island, which had fallen to the Crown by the attainder of the Marquess Henry. The citizens also received a right to cut timber in the neighbouring royal woods for the support of the weirs, and they also bought of the Crown the 'fee or manor' of Saint Nicolas; the stones of the church had been already used. In 1550 too an Act of Parliament more accurately defined the boundaries of the county of Devon and the new county of the city. Rougemont and its precincts were excluded from the city, but the parish of Saint Sidwell and other places outside the gates were taken in.

In the reign of Mary Exeter plays only a passive part. The citizens declined to join with Sir Peter Carew in a rising or even a petition to hinder the Queen from marrying Philip King of Naples, and for bestowing her instead on Edward Courtenay, son of the beheaded Marquess, now again Earl of Devonshire and presently to be Marquess of Exeter. Carew escaped, to play a part in the next reign; but Exeter had no share in the movements of Kent. The reign of Elizabeth opened a new period in the commercial history of the city. In none of her progresses did the Queen make her way so far west as Exeter. The only royal personage who visited the city during her reign was Don Antonio, the claimant of the crown of Portugal against Philip the Second, who was honourably received in 1584. The

city made its contribution in men and ships to the great struggle against Antonio's adversary, especially to the fleet fitted out in 1587, in which Antonio himself was present. The connexion with the Spanish peninsula took a strange form in an intermediate year, when, at the Lent assizes of 1586, one of the Judges, with a crowd of magistrates, jurors, and others, sickened and died of the 'noisome smell from the bar.' A body of Portuguese prisoners, already worn out and sickly, and then shut up in prison, such as prisons were then, had infected the other prisoners, who in this sort had their revenge.

But the Queen's name appears in several matters relating to the city. The first bishop of her appointment, William Alley, on his coming in 1559, 'brought a commission to be a justice of the peace within the said city, contrary to the charters and liberties thereof.' This claim was successfully opposed by the Mayor Robert Midwinter, and it is said with the Queen's personal approval, though the Bishop was in such favour with her Majesty that she 'sent him yearly a silver cup for a new-year's gift.' In the third year of her reign (February 21st, 1561) Elizabeth granted the city a fresh charter, which was confirmed by Parliament in her fifth year. In 1581 the Mayor and Chamber procured an act which shows that hitherto much of the land within the county of the city had passed by gavelkind, a tenure better known at the other end of the island. An Act was now procured by the Mayor and Chamber, by which all land was to be 'inheritable as lands at the common law.' One practice first recorded under Edward, but which is most likely far older, goes on under Elizabeth, that of granting pensions by the city to persons of a local or national importance. The

services of the Carews in the deliverance of the city obtained for Sir Peter a pension of forty shillings; the same was in 1574 'granted to Sir Gawen Carew, Knight, for his life, on whose decease the same was in like manner settled on Edmund Tremage, Esquire, to them both in reward of their good services done this city.' The representatives of the city in Parliament also receive rewards beyond their regular wages. In 1564 Jeffrey Tothill, elected in 1562, receives a pension of twenty marks for his services. And a purse with twenty pounds in gold was sent to his colleague Thomas Williams,[1] in whose election as Speaker the city felt itself honoured. But an annuity of ten pounds to Sir William Cecil, afterwards Lord Treasurer Burghley, though it is said to be done 'in remuneratione servitii,' may set us thinking a little more deeply.

Plagues are recorded in more than one year of Elizabeth's reign. The work of the canal from Topsham was begun again with vigour in 1563 under John Trew from Glamorgan; but the result was not satisfactory. It was finished in the space of ten years, and vessels of sixteen tons could now bring up their cargoes to the quay; but it was complained that vessels of even ten tons could not come up at all states of the tide. The Chamber and the engineer quarrelled, litigation followed, and Trew professed to have made no gain by his undertaking. The truth was that Exeter was doomed to the same fate as most of the elder havens of England, with the single exception of London. And

[1] Izacke's (that is, Hoker's) date of 1575 does not agree with the list of members in Oliver, 296.

after all, it has at least been more lucky than many an once famous haven in Kent and Sussex.

The Stewart period, as a whole, brought Exeter again into great prominence in general English history. But its early years were uneventful. The city made free gifts to the kings on their accession, two hundred marks to James, the greater offering of three hundred pounds to Charles. Each reign was ushered in with a plague, and in the plague under Charles, though Exeter itself did not escape, we hear much of the contributions collected in the city for the relief of other places. One mayor forsakes his post: a deputy stays and manfully discharges his duty. The days of warfare were doubtless held to be over, when in 1612 the ancient counterscarp of Rougemont, known as Northernhay, was levelled and made into a pleasant walk. In 1627 Charles the First granted another charter to the city, of which more anon.

We are drawing near to the days of the great Civil War. It began in the mayoralty of Richard Saunders (1641-2), under which the local chronicler finds nothing to set down besides the translation of Bishop Hall and the consecration of his successor. His entries under the next year (1642-3), the mayoralty of Christopher Clark, are singular.

All the trees in Northernhay and Southernhay, elms (of above hundred years' growth) were cut down and felled.

The City was twice this year besieged by the King's forces, &c.

It might not at once occur that the trees were cut down as an operation of war, and the word 'besieged'

must be taken somewhat freely. The city played its part from the very beginning. Each party claimed the mass of the people of Exeter as on its side, but the formal acts during the year 1642 were wholly for the Parliament. On January 11 a petition went up from Exeter to the Parliament, complaining of the decay of trade through the disturbances in London, and laying the blame on bishops and Popish lords. When the war actually broke out, the Earl of Bath failed to win the city to the King's side. The Earl of Bedford arranged matters on behalf of the Parliament, and the Parliamentary Commissioners were chosen from the magistrates of the city. All care was taken for its defence; considerable sums were voted to the Earl of Stamford, who came in May 1643 as Governor for the Parliament. All offices were put in the hands of men who could be trusted. The city chaplain was dismissed in September 1642, and the Recorder was changed soon after Stamford's coming. Yet there were signs that the city was not of one mind.

By this time the war was drawing nearer. Cornwall was for the King; the battle of Braddockdown had gone in his favour; the royalists, though they did not really besiege the city, spread their incursions near to its walls. The cessation between parliamentary Devonshire and royalist Cornwall kept matters quiet for a while. When fighting began again next year, Exeter became the centre of the strife in the West. Stamford marched forth to meet defeat at Stratton, and came back to act on the defensive. The royalists marched by the city to Tiverton and Chard, and their parties from Columb John kept the garrison in constant alarm. Under Sir John Berkeley

their quarters drew nearer and nearer; every preparation was made for defence, and it was now that the pleasant trees on Northern- and Southernhay were sacrificed. Efforts were made to relieve the city by land and water. The Admiral Earl of Warwick strove to carry help by way of the river, but was beaten back by Berkeley's land force. A movement in the north of Devonshire to draw off the besieging forces was baffled by the gallant exploit of John Digby at Torrington. And now the straitest work of war began. Again, as when William led the forces of southern England against Exeter, the city was besieged by an English army under a foreign leader. The King's German nephew Maurice, son of his sister Elizabeth and the Winter-King of Bohemia, held the city in a firm grasp. His leaguer was shorter by a few days than that of the Norman; and he met with no such resistance. As Clarendon puts it:—

> Articles were agreed to; and that rich and pleasant city was delivered on the fourth of September, which was within fourteen or sixteen days after prince Maurice came thither, into the king's protection, after it had suffered no other distress, or impression from the besiegers, than the being kept from taking the air without their own walls, and from being supplied from the country markets.

The taking of Exeter was not unpleasing to many within the walls, and it was of the utmost advantage for the King's cause in the West, where the party of the Parliament was now 'reduced to a lowness and confined within narrow limits.' Under its active governor Sir John Berkeley, it became the great military centre in that region, like Oxford in another part, and

it was used as safe quarters when safety was a special object. It was chosen rather than Oxford for the birthplace of the King's youngest child. Queen Henrietta Maria came to Exeter on May 1, 1644, where she was quartered in the house of the Earl of Bedford, and the next day received a gift of 200*l.* from the Chamber. There, on June 16, she gave birth to a daughter, afterwards the beautiful and ill-fated Henrietta Duchess of Orleans. The child was christened in Saint Peter's; but the approach of the Earl of Essex drove the mother to flee within a fortnight, first to Falmouth and then to France, notwithstanding the efforts of Vice-Admiral Batty to stop her.

The babe was left behind at Exeter, and a few days later, on July 26th, her father came thither with his son Charles Prince of Wales. The defeat of Marston Moor had made his cause hopeless in the North; in the West he was still the stronger. But he came to an impoverished city. Still with great difficulty, by the sale of plate and other shifts, money was raised for royal gifts, 500*l.* to the King, 100*l.* to the Prince, and other sums to his servants and those of the Queen. The Mayor, Hugh Crocker, was naturally knighted; dissentient members of the Chamber were dismissed. After a short stay, Charles set forth on a victorious campaign in Cornwall, that in which Essex escaped and Skippon capitulated. On September 17 he came again to Exeter for a few days on his way back to Oxford. He was both times lodged at Bedford house; the Prince was quartered at the deanery. The Duke of Cornwall would have been strictly at home in his own castle of Rougemont; but

the fortress, ruinous before the war and patched up for its necessities, was hardly suited for royal or princely quarters. But the elder state of things did in some sort come back. Exeter was again the head-quarters of its lord; the Cornish duke was often in his duchy, and his ducal revenues were an important help towards carrying on his father's warfare. For more than a year Exeter remained the centre and stronghold of the royal cause in the West. Its supporters suffered a good deal from their own dissensions; men like Berkeley and Hopton had to be set against men like Goring and Richard Grenville. But the city held its place as the capital and head fortress of a district which still held out for a cause which elsewhere was failing.

After the crushing defeat of Naseby, and, what more directly touched the West, the surrender of Bristol by Rupert, all was changed. Fairfax advanced into Devonshire, and practised the same plan of warfare as the Conqueror. Without actually besieging Exeter, he hemmed it in, by planting posts in the neighbourhood, first on the east side and then on the west. The garrison was often in sore straits; the endurance of the citizens was strained to the uttermost by the ordinary evils of a state of siege, by constant demands for money on an empty purse, and by the insolence of Goring's soldiers. They were at last got rid of, and the defence was left to the more honourable care of Berkeley. The end was not yet: Exeter was held for the King through the whole winter of 1645. But early in 1646 it was thought good that the Prince of Wales should withdraw from Exeter and all points on the mainland, and seek shelter, first in Scilly, within his own duchy, and

then in the Norman dominions of his father. Meanwhile Fairfax grew ever stronger; a last effort was made by the royalists of Cornwall to relieve Exeter, but on February 14 came the victory of Fairfax over Hopton at Torrington, followed presently by the complete dispersion of the Cornish army. Exmouth was taken by Sir Hardress Waller, and at last, March 31, 1646, Fairfax appeared before Exeter. This siege was not long. Negotiations soon began, and on April 13 Berkeley and his garrison marched out with the honours of war, and Exeter was occupied by the Parliamentary forces. The articles of capitulation provided that Saint Peter's and the other churches should not be defaced, and that the citizens should be exempted from plunder and secured in their possessions, and exempted from all 'oaths, covenants, protestations, and subscriptions.' And, notwithstanding reports which were current both then and afterwards, there is no ground to think that the terms were broken. Each side had its tales to tell of the other at Exeter as well as elsewhere. But there is the witness of the well-known Thomas Fuller, who was at Exeter at the time of the surrender, to the strict observance of the terms which exempted from oaths and the like, and to the profit which he himself reaped from them long afterwards. The little Lady Henrietta, who had remained in Exeter from her birth, was allowed to go freely to France with her attendants.

The war was now over in the West. Exeter was held for the Parliament by three regiments under Colonel Hammond And the war was practically over

everywhere. The King left Oxford before the end of April, and the conquerors had only to gather in their gleanings. The short renewal of the war two years later, memorable in Wales and more memorable in Essex, did not touch the West. But it seems to have been made a ground for quartering soldiers on the city, which was much complained of. It was when the news of the King's beheading reached Exeter that men were thoroughly stirred. The Mayor, James Gould, 'a person of low stature, but of an undaunted courage,' treated the proclamations of the new powers with scorn, and the next time the Judges of Assize came to Exeter, he 'slighted them and would not acknowledge their power.' The Judges fined the Mayor 200*l.*,

for the recovery of which they troubled him in the Court of Exchequer; to which he appeared, and defended himself so well and so far, untill the Attorney-General entered a *non vult prosequi* against him. And at the next summer assizes, the Judges executed their commission at Tiverton (where before or since they never sate), which was purposely done by way of revenge for this Mayor's stubbornness towards them.

The Judges further called the charters of the city in question, and threw doubts on its claim to be a separate county. Nothing came of these doubts; but the requirement of the oaths to the Commonwealth caused several men chosen to office between 1649 and 1652 to decline to serve in defiance of fines. Richard Crossing, who refused the mayoralty in 1649, has left his reason in his own writing; it was 'because the kingly government was then by armed violence obstructed.' Meanwhile Sir Hardress Waller, Governor

of the castle, had to look out against the favourers of Charles Stewart, and the preachers of the city, Puritans of course, but not therefore necessarily commonwealthsmen, used strong language against the existing state of things. In 1650 a letter from the Council of State bade Major Blackmore, then in command in the castle, to keep a sharp lookout on two dangerous preachers named Ford and Nicolls. The Scottish march to Worcester led only to mutterings about 'the cavaliers coming to the city again,' and rumours of a royalist landing on the coast; but in the enterprise of March 1655, Exeter was the place of the trial and execution of the adventurers.

This rising, best known by the names of Penruddock and Grove, had two leaders, Lord Rochester in the North and Sir Joseph Wagstaff in the South. Two hundred Wiltshire royalists—those of Hampshire were too late—entered Salisbury at assize time, seized the Sheriff and the Judges in their beds, and debated the question of hanging them. The Judges, shorn of their commissions, were let go; the Sheriff, on refusing to proclaim Charles the Second, was carried off as a prisoner. Meeting with no support, the insurgents wandered on into Devonshire, and at last surrendered at South Molton to a single troop of horse. Its commander, Captain Crook, agreed to articles by which their lives were to be spared, an agreement clearly beyond the power of a military officer. The prisoners, tried and convicted before a special commission at Exeter, prayed for their lives, on the ground that they had slain no man, and 'withal that we had on capitulation the protection of the sword for our lives, which we dare

but touch with the top of our rod.' The main petition is remarkable. 'If we may not be thought fit to live in this commonwealth, we hope at least we may be suffered to spend the remainder of our days in her defence, together with the rest of Christendom, against the too powerful and common enemy the Turk.' In 1655 England was still ringing with the exploits of Blake in the year before, when the chastisement of the pirates of Africa was not deemed an untoward event. The Protector remitted the extreme penalty of treason to all the condemned. The two foremost, Penruddock and Grove, were beheaded in the castle; several others were hanged at Heavitree; the mass of their followers were sold as slaves in Barbadoes, a treatment specially characteristic of the seventeenth century. The dying speech of Grove is short, full of forgiveness for enemies whom he yet cannot keep himself from reviling. Penruddock talks at large on many matters, religious, political, and personal. He allows his trial to have been 'public, honourable, and eminent,' he 'thanks the Lord Protector for that he hath indulged me so far as to have my head severed from my body.' But he complains bitterly of Crook in 'protesting against those articles which he himself with so many protestations and importunities put upon us;' and he adds: 'I could tell you of some soldiers that were turned out of his troop for defending of those conditions of ours.' Crook had promised what he could not perform, but he failed to 'do himself and us that right that a gentleman and soldier ought to have done,' if he did not plead earnestly for men who had placed a mistaken trust in him.

Four years later Exeter played some part in a revolution wrought without bloodshed. Royalist plots were rife in Devonshire. Monk too was a Devonshire man, a freeman of Exeter and grandson of a Mayor, and advices from his brother and others in the West were believed to have had some share in shaping his course. Exeter and Devonshire had an early share—they claimed to have led the way—in the movements which led to the Restoration. As often before, the commonalty showed more zeal than their rulers. First of all,

> Many of the commons of this city arose and put themselves in arms, declaring for a free Parliament, the tumult appeared so great that most of the shop windows were not opened for two or three days space.

Then it was that the Chamber of Exeter and the Justices of Devonshire addressed Speaker Lenthall and the remnant of the Rump for the redress of grievances and the restitution of excluded members.

Before long the King had his own again, and the king-maker in whom Exeter claimed a share was welcomed as its first High Steward after the Restoration. On May 11, 1660, Charles the Second was proclaimed with great ceremony Presently the gifts to royal persons begin again. 700*l.* worth of plate was voted to the King, and 200*l.* worth to his sister by her own city. Two years later 300*l.* more in the same shape was voted to the Queen-mother, and in 1671 offerings could be made to the sovereign in person. Charles the Second, having gone by sea to look at the new citadel at Plymouth, went back by land, and passed one night at the deanery in Exeter on his way. The city gave him 500*l.* in gold, 'which he graciously received, and expressed much

favour towards the said city.' He also knighted the Mayor, Benjamin Oliver; but 'the King's short abode in this city hindered the great conduit at Carfax from emptying herself of an hogshead of wine, which the city had provided in readiness for that purpose, and after his Majesty's departure, made a free disposition thereof for his service.' The next year, with many pleasant words to the city, he sent the picture of its most highly-born native, the lately deceased Duchess of Orleans.

Meanwhile the city was affected by the general legislation of the time. Besides ministers who lost their livings by the Act of Uniformity, there were in 1683 thirty-eight men and four women in Exeter gaol—and we must remember what Exeter gaol was then—on charges of non-conformity. Their imprisonment had seriously affected the trade of the city; they had been engaged in the serge manufacture, and the stoppage of their business had thrown five hundred men out of work. The burning of heretics was over; but on August 25, 1682, one or more old women—the number is differently stated—were burned—one account says hanged—at Heavitree for the crime of witchcraft. It is worth noting that Chief Justice North (afterwards Lord Keeper Guilford), who had scruples on the point of witchcraft, threw the work of trying them on his colleague, Mr. Justice Raymond.

During this reign the purely municipal history of the city connects itself with the political history of the country. At the municipal election of 1662, the elected Mayor John Martin refused to serve, not however from dislike to the restored monarchy; for 'the King was advertised thereof by way of a petition hence, who

commanded the said Mayor to undertake the same: whereunto he readily yielded obedience, and performed his trust therein with much reputation and honour.' In 1678 and 1679, three elected bailiffs in succession refused office, and were fined. A few years later came the great blow dealt by Charles at the independence of English cities and boroughs. In 1684 the charter of Exeter, the charter of the late king, was surrendered, like other charters, under the *quo warranto*. The surrender was not enrolled, a legal point which became of importance in the next reign. But the King exercised his new powers of appointing and removing magistrates, and named the Mayor and Sheriff for 1684–5, together with the Recorder, Aldermen, and Common Councilmen.

Other casual notices meet us. Gifts were sent by Exeter for the relief of distress in London and other places; we read of local improvements, the planting again of Northernhay and Southernhay, no longer needed for purposes of warfare, of the sudden fall and rebuilding of part of the city wall, and specially of great works on the quay and canal. Great personages were also entertained, as the second Duke of Albemarle, High Steward of the city; and in March 1669 the city again received a visit from a foreign prince. This was Cosmo, son of the Grand-duke Ferdinand of Tuscany, whom he succeeded the next year. In the local records he appears as 'Prince of Tuskey.' His share of the bounty of the city was '20*l.* or thereabouts.' Eleven years after Cosmo came another guest who, if he had no place among acknowledged princes, was at least eager to be counted among them. In 1680 James Duke of

Monmouth made his great progress through Somerset and Devonshire, and drew near to Exeter amid the rejoicings of a vast crowd and with somewhat of kingly state. Five thousand horsemen accompanied him from Chard, and nine hundred young men in white uniforms marched before him into the city.[1]

Monmouth never saw Exeter again; but many have wondered why he did not. In a warfare belonging wholly to the West of England, Exeter might have looked to add to the tale of her sieges. And a siege of Exeter in 1685 might not have met with so stout a defence as the city made at some earlier times. As it was, Monmouth's enterprise had more to do with Dorset and Somerset than with Devonshire and Exeter. Yet he marched through Devonshire and occupied Axminster; and it was from Exeter that the High Steward, being also Lord Lieutenant of Devonshire and of Exeter, led forth the Devonshire militia. He led them back from Axminster to Exeter less from fear of the enemy than because he distrusted his own men. Had Monmouth marched on Exeter, the story of 1549 might have been turned about. The Protestant city might have stood another siege at the hands of Protestant rebels. But the city had to wait for a mightier Protestant deliverer. Instead of pursuing Albemarle and marching on Exeter, Monmouth marched on to Taunton and to Sedgemoor. Devonshire therefore had little to do with the campaign, and Exeter nothing at all. Still Jeffreys held his Bloody Assizes at Exeter, though, compared with other places, the victims of the gibbet at Heavitree were few.

[1] Macaulay, i. 571.

The years 1687 and 1688 are, at Exeter as in other English towns, crowded with municipal changes. James the Second, at one stage of his career, undertook, by the help of his 'Regulators,' to get rid of the High Church and Tory magistrates whom he could no longer trust, and to put in their places, sometimes Roman Catholics, more commonly Nonconformists. At the election of September, 1687, John Snell, one of the Aldermen appointed by Charles, was chosen Mayor. On November 28 came the King's order, removing him and others of the corporation, and appointing others who were to be admitted without 'any other oaths for the executing of their respective places, with which we are pleased to dispense in this behalf.' That is, the Popish King filled the Chamber with Presbyterians. Of the new Mayor, Thomas Jefford, we read:

> This Mr. Jefford was a dyer in this city, and in that art very curious, by means whereof he got a great estate; being somewhat ambitious and aspiring after honour, he procured to himself the government of this city, but his continuance was of short date.

It lasted however nearly the time of an ordinary mayoralty. We presently come to two speaking entries:

> The 24th of January, 1687 [1688] Mr. Jefford the Mayor was desired by the Chamber to surrender into his Majesty's hand the former charter, which was done accordingly.
>
> The 27th day of March, 1688, the new charter was first executed.

That is, the new charters were now to be surrendered, as the old ones had been. Exeter did not need, as

Winchester did, to be dragooned into a surrender, and Mr. Jefford had his reward. He was knighted, and a royal order of September 27, 1688, commanded his re-election. His second term of office was not long. The Prince of Orange was coming. On the 15th of October appeared a proclamation from the King, restoring the forfeited franchises, with some exceptions. Of these Exeter was one, 'upon a supposition that the deed of surrender made to his late Majesty was recorded.' But in November a special order in council came to Exeter in which James, 'in pursuance to the power reserved to his Majesty in the charter of incorporation lately granted to the said city,' removed 'the Mayor, Sheriff, Recorder, Town-clerk, Aldermen, Common-Councilmen, and all and every other magistrate, officer, or minister of and in the said city,' and restored those who were in office at the time of the surrender to Charles. So Sir Thomas Jefford had to withdraw from the government of the city of which he had been so ambitious, and Christopher Brodridge, Mayor of 1683–4, and his fellows in office, stepped back into their places.

And now came the last event in the history of Exeter which was also a great event in the national history of England. A cycle of six hundred years had come round, and another William was on his way, on another errand from the first. There is no need to tell again in detail the tale which the greatest of the later masters of the English tongue has told once and for ever. Yet even after Macaulay's telling, a few points may specially strike one who has followed the local history from the beginning, and to whom the coming of one William cannot but suggest the coming of the other.

The order for the restoration of the charter, issued on November 1st, reached Exeter on the very day, the second famous fifth of November, when the Prince of Orange landed at Torbay, and the restored Mayor and his fellows were still very young in office when they had to play a somewhat passive part in the last English revolution. The landing of the Prince at the point where he did land was quite unexpected; he was looked for in the North of England, not in the West. In the North there was a real insurrection, but there were no helpers from outside. In the West there was no body of armed supporters ready to join William; it was the general welcome given to his landing, and the presence of Englishmen in his following, which took away all look of foreign invasion from his enterprise. The entrance of William of Orange through the West Gate of Exeter was in some sort the undoing of the entrance of William of Normandy through the East Gate; yet the army of the later William was more distinctively an army of strangers than the army of the earlier. Then Englishmen had been pressed to subdue an English city; now strangers drew near to an English city that needed no subduing. And yet they were not wholly strangers. In the mingled host of the later William came men gathered, it might seem, from all Teutonic lands, though not from Teutonic lands only. In an age when men classed Pope and Turk together as the enemies from whom they craved deliverance, it was something to see in the advancing army men who had been driven from France for one form of the faith of Christendom and men who had fought against the Infidel for the faith of

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Christendom itself. Within the city there was in 1688 the same division between the chief men and the mass of the people which there had been in 1068; only it was turned the other way. This time the local rulers clave to established power, while the people at large were ready to welcome the invader. We heard nothing of Bishop Leofric at the earlier time; his successor Thomas Lamplugh was the first to flee, to bear the news to the King, and to receive his reward in one of James's last acts of authority, his letter missive to the Chapter of York for his election to their long vacant metropolitan see. The Dean, Richard Annesley, fled also. The reinstated magistrates, Christopher Brodridge and his brethren, were able to do one piece of service for the King. First of all, Captain Hicks came to Exeter on November 7th with a party of horse. Men fled to him, eager to enlist in the Prince's service; but the Mayor put him in a gentle confinement till the next day. Then came Lord Mordaunt, and with him Gilbert Burnet the future bishop, with a larger body. The loyal magistrates caused the gates to be shut, but the delay in answer to Mordaunt's summons was not long, and the Mayor's refusal to acknowledge the Prince's authority in no way checked the course of events. The next day, November 9th, came the entry of the Prince himself, the martial procession through the shouting streets, the *Te Deum* in Saint Peter's, the flight of clergy and choir at the reading of the Prince's declaration, the Amen given by an English assembly to so new a form of blessing as 'God save the Prince of Orange,' the sermon of Burnet, the wild harangue of Ferguson, the endless incidents which live in the

most abiding narrative of those days. For twelve days the deanery of Exeter was the headquarters of William, to which, first the commons, then the gentry of the shire, and lastly the nobles of the kingdom, gradually thronged. Lord Lovelace, the first peer who sought to reach Exeter, became a prisoner at Gloucester. Presently the Earl of Abingdon came; others dropped in, among them a man of special local importance, formerly Recorder of the city and its representative in Parliament, that well-known Sir Edward Seymour of whose family was the Duke of Somerset, and whose descendants were to be dukes of Somerset themselves. It was he who, after the Prince's speech, suggested the declaration which Burnet drew up, and which pledged them all to the defence of William and to the support of his objects. Presently the accession of the Earl of Bath placed Plymouth at the Prince's disposal, and made him master of the West. On November 21st he left Exeter for Salisbury and London, leaving Seymour behind him in command of the city. He was again to be Recorder of Exeter, again to represent the city in more than one Parliament, and to connect the famous salt-petre contract with his name. But it is an Exeter election in which he was not elected, the famous election of 1695, which has won for itself a lasting place in history.

We may here end the history of Exeter as a part of the kingdom of England, directly influencing the history of the kingdom. From the ninth century to the seventeenth, we have been recording more than the local history of Exeter, more than such events in

the national history as chanced to happen at Exeter; we have been recording the direct contribution of Exeter itself to the national history. At more than one moment of danger the course of things which happened at Exeter, even the determination of the rulers or citizens of Exeter, has had a direct share in shaping the course of things in the kingdom at large. This kind of influence now stops. As the unity of the kingdom becomes stronger, as the means of communication become easier, this direct bearing of local on general history is greatly weakened. So far as it abides at all, it passes from the ancient cities of the land to those newer seats of commerce and manufactures which have outstripped them in population and wealth. Manchester and Birmingham have in our own day affected the political history of England; it is not likely that York or Exeter will do so again. The political history of these cities now simply follows the course of the general history of the nation; it cannot be said to influence that history, save as each particular man may be said to influence it. Our main work then is done; but we have still to sketch the purely local history down to our own time, and to point out some points in the municipal and ecclesiastical history of the city from the thirteenth century onwards which can hardly be called contributions to the history of the kingdom at large.

CHAPTER V.

MUNICIPAL EXETER.

1225–1688.

Constitutional history of Exeter—Growth of oligarchy—The Freemen—Origin of the Chamber or Common Council—Its gradual growth—Charter of Henry the Seventh—The Mayor and Bailiffs—Other officers—The Chamberlain—John Hoker—Disputes with the bishops—John Shillingford—Disputes with the earls—Guilds and companies—The Merchant Adventurers—Charitable institutions—The Aldermen—Other officers—The Guildhall.

WE have now to look at the local history of Exeter as a contribution rather to the general study of politics than to the national history of England. We have to look at the city as a commonwealth, and at its internal history as the history of a commonwealth. We have to study the constitutional history of Exeter. For the constitution of a municipality may be studied in the same way, and it may furnish the same lessons, as the constitution of an independent commonwealth. The difference between the two is simply that the one constitution can be changed by a power external to itself, namely the supreme authority of the country, while the other cannot. The municipality is ready to act as an independent commonwealth the moment the superior authority is withdrawn; and it has been by such withdrawal or dying out of the superior authority that

most of the commonwealths of later Europe rose to independence. Political tendencies of various kinds, to oligarchy at one time, to democracy at another, show themselves in municipalities just as in free cities. And in both the developement is often silent; important stages in political growth are left unrecorded, either because it did not come into men's heads to record what every one took for granted, or because there really was no formal act to record. The growth of a constitution, and its changes, have to be inferred from incidental references far more commonly than from direct statements.

It is hard indeed to grasp the details, but it is easy to trace the main outlines, of the constitutional history of Exeter. An oligarchy grew up which displaced an older and freer system. As in other English towns, this oligarchy was not, like those of Greece and Italy, hereditary, at least in form. It came of self-election. Most of the powers of the whole commonalty came to be vested in a council of twenty-four, no longer chosen by the commonalty at large, but filling up vacancies in their own body. But it must be remembered that the commonalty itself, the body of freemen, while it was being shorn of many of its rights, was also itself becoming an exclusive body as regarded all inhabitants of the city who were not freemen. The story of patricians and plebeians is much the same everywhere. The constitution of the patrician body, the old citizens, the freemen, may vary; that is the artificial substitutes for birth may vary: such were special grant, purchase, marriage, servitude or apprenticeship. Purchase was and is of special importance in the Swiss communities,

where the freedom conveys a right—as it does in England on a smaller scale—to a share in the advantages of the large communal property, the *folkland* of the *gemeinde* or *commune*. At Exeter the hereditary freemen put on the character of a peeragè rather than that of a nobility. Freedom, like land, was hereditary; it passed with the lands of the freeman, but, like land, it did not pass to the heir till after the death of his father or other ancestor. But, when oligarchy was fully established, within the body of citizens, an exception was made in favour of the ruling council. Their sons had a right to freedom during their father's life-time. Another way of obtaining freedom was by service, by an apprenticeship of not less than seven years, according to the custom of the city. Redemption or fine—in other words, the sale of the freedom—was another way. The fine of an artificer was not to be less than twenty shillings; that of a merchant was to be fixed, according to his means, at the discretion of the Mayor.

The rights and duties of a freeman of Exeter are set forth with some minuteness by our ever ready guide Hoker. The freeman is 'the chiefest and principal member of the commonwealth of the city; and, as it were, out of his loins do proceed all such as be officers and have any government and charge in the same.' None can 'use or exercise any trade, art, calling or office in the city, unless he be first sworn to the liberty of the city.' The liberties which he enjoys he is to respect and defend in others. 'He shall not sue nor implead any franchised man of the city, but only in the courts of the city, in all matters determinable in the case, *except for lack of justice*.' This last phrase, like its use in

some statutes on ecclesiastical matters, reserves the inalienable right and duty of the sovereign of the whole land to do justice to all his subjects, and to correct any delay or denial of justice that may be done by any inferior power. That right and duty no privileges of particular places or orders can set aside. Meanwhile another duty of the Exeter freeman illustrates the state of things when the city had to hold its own against overbearing nobles, and when it was needful to make sure of the allegiance of every citizen to the city. 'He shall not be a retainer, nor wear the cloth, livery, badge nor cognizance, of any person not being a franchised person.' Against this restriction must be set the practice of making great nobles and others franchised persons. Thus in 1491 so dangerous a person as Edward Courtenay, Earl of Devon, was made a freeman. Various entries illustrate the advantages of the freeman in matters of trade. Thus in 1477,

> Upon complaint of the bakers of this city against foreign bakers whom they would have utterly excluded from coming hither with any bread, and one special cause alleged was, when they came here, they would carry their bread from house to house, to the great prejudice of the bakers of this city, whereupon was ordered that the said foreign bakers should have free coming and going to the markets here, and should keep their conduits only at the great conduit to sell their bread.

This was clearly a compromise between the claims of natives and foreigners, and we find in other cases that the foreigner was at least protected from open violence. Thus in 1592,

> The company of butchers within this city, disturbing

the markets, and taking away the victuals of foreign butchers resorting hither, were for their misdemeanour, many of them committed to prison.

These were doubtless foreigners dwelling elsewhere; the resident foreigner—his Greek name springs naturally to the lips—had his special tax to pay for protection. In 1495 we read—'Tis enrolled that the custom of this city is that every artificer dwelling here and not free, shall pay every Wednesday and Friday for all such wares as they shall set to sale, until such time as they shall be free of the city.' This last clause shows that admission by apprentisage and purchase was common. In 1520 Richard Ratcliff was 'fined forty shillings for suffering strangers to sell wares within his house, and for colouring of foreigners' goods.' In the same year 1520 'all freemen were ordered to live within the city on pain of disfranchisement.' And the year before, John Beblew 'was disfranchised for suing John Northbrook (both freemen of the city) at the common law, and out of the jurisdiction of this court, contrary to his oath.' This was seemingly not 'for lack for justice.' He should at least have tried the courts of his own city first.

The whole class of persons thus privileged was the body to which successive kings granted charters, the 'commonalty' of the city of Exeter. They, the whole body, chose the Mayor and other officers. In fact as regards the Mayor, they always continued to do so, though the freedom of their choice was afterwards shackled. But among the privileged order of freemen a further privileged body arose, the body of twenty-four, the Chamber or Common Council. It doubtless arose, like all such

bodies, gradually and to some extent out of the necessity of the case. For many purposes in the civic administration there was clearly need of some smaller and less fluctuating body than the whole mass of the citizens. No democracy is without a senate of some kind; where oligarchy steps in is in making that senate hereditary or self-elected. At Exeter we first dimly hear of a body of thirty-six, marked out in some way, not necessarily permanently, from the mass of the assembly. The attendance of the freemen was doubtless fluctuating. In all such bodies we find complaints of crowds and the disorders consequent on crowds, balanced by rules enforcing attendance by penalties, and fixing some definite number as necessary for the transaction of business. When such a number is fixed, it is an easy step to summon that particular number in some understood way, and another easy step to confine the powers of the whole assembly to the summoned body. In 1339 'the thirty-six' appear as a known body. A Mayor's order of that year forbids the admission of freemen on the day of the Mayor's election 'in the absence of the 36,' 'per impetuosum clamorem plurimorum hominum utilitatem et honorem dictæ civitatis minime considerantes.' The singular phrase 'absence of the 36' looks as if they passed out of notice in the presence of the whole assembly. But the existence of a body of that number, marked out in some definite way, is taken for granted. In 1344 and in 1355 we hear of a body of twelve, elected at the same time as the Mayor, to be his advisers 'in omnibus arduis negotiis.' But the number of twenty-four is older; it first appears in 1288, when it is ordered 'quod aldermanni hujus

civitatis sunt eligendi per sacramenta viginti-quatuor.' This seems to be the first mention of Alderman. In 1301 it is recorded that the Mayor 'was this year chosen by the voices of four-and-twenty freemen and citizens upon their oaths.' And in 1347 it is ordered that the Mayor shall be chosen by a 'double jury,' that is, 'by twenty-four persons who, upon their several and respective oaths shall make their election.' This way of election by a jury, representative of the whole body, is not uncommon; it answers to the ecclesiastical election by 'compromise.' But a jury, however chosen, is a body which comes to an end when it has done its work, and is very unlike a permanent body filling up its own vacancies. Still we see a body of twenty-four having some special share in the election, first of the aldermen, then of the Mayor; and this is a distinct step towards ousting all but the twenty-four. Moreover the 'impetuous clamours' of 1339 seem to have been stirred up by the constant re-election of one or two men as Mayor; in that year Thomas Lichfield is chosen between two of the many mayoralties of Henry Houghton. An order of 1346 decrees that the Mayor shall not be immediately re-elected, a decree which was not always observed. In 1427 we find it 'ordered by the Mayor and Common Council of this City that if any member thereof being duly warned by one of the serjeants at mace of the said City to appear at the Council chamber and consult touching the public affairs of the said City, and shall refuse to do so, he shall prefer and pay for every such default 3^{s}. and 4^{d}.' Here the name 'Common Council,' 'commune concilium,' which we may be sure at first belonged to the general assembly of the citizens, is

clearly shrinking up to mean a narrower body. In 1496, at the fifth election of John Atwill, we come to a most important entry;

A great division happened amongst the citizens about the election of the Mayor, and for avoiding the like for the future, was ordered *by the Mayor and Common Council* hereof, that no man should be Mayor or bear any office here nor any election hold good, unless the same were held according to the ancient orders and customs of the said city, and withal that *the Mayor and four and twenty of the said Common Council should elect the Mayor and all other officers of the said city.*

This reads like the crowning of the edifice; the four-and twenty are here in full force. All the notices point to a long struggle between ancient custom and growing oligarchy. Phrases like 'ancient orders and customs' in the mouths of the oligarchs themselves do not prove much. Some other points should be noticed. The order of 1339 lays down the qualifications of the Mayor. No clerk of the consistory court shall be chosen Mayor or Seneschal (bailiff) or meddle with the election of Mayor or Seneschal. No one shall be Mayor who is not constantly resident in the city, and who has not served the office of seneschal. Had there been attempts to elect the chief men of the neighbourhood who had been admitted freemen? And no one is to be excluded from the office of Mayor, who is resident, who who has been seneschal, *and who has* 100 *worth of lands, tenements, or rents in the city.* We wish to know the occasions of all these orders. The last, for instance, may be construed as creating a property qualification, or it may not. And the forbidding of re-election may

have different meanings; it may have been aimed at popular mayors; but without further light we cannot say that it was so.

In any case the narrower form of government gradually grew up within an older and freer system. The Common Council, the twenty-four, form no part of the style of the city. The freeman's oath knows nothing of them, or of any body smaller than 'the Mayor, Bailiffs, and Commonalty of this city.' Before them he is bound to appear, '*when and so often he shall be thereunto required and summoned*, and to give them his best advice and discreetest counsel, *if it be demanded*.' This is very significant; we here see the practice of summons at discretion creeping in. Still it is the Commonalty that summons its own members, and that demands their advice. The freeman also swears that he will 'duly come to the election of every new mayor of this city . . . and being present that he will give his best voice for the said election, without any favour or partial respect whatsoever.' The fact that for some centuries his voice consisted only in choosing between two candidates selected by the twenty-four is here modestly veiled.

The final step seems to have consisted in changing the double jury of 1347, which, by whatever process it was formed, could have been formed only for the nonce, into a lasting self-elected body of twenty-four. Hoker indeed traces them up to the thirty-six—

They were sometimes xxxvi in number, and of which the Mayor then was none; but since the kings of this realm have reduced them to the number of xxiv, and thereof the Mayor is always one.'

Yet the presence of the number twenty-four both in the double jury and

in the later Chamber can hardly be accidental. And the Chamber kept some of the features of a jury. As in a grand jury, no act could be done without the presence of twelve men; whether no act could be done without the assent of twelve men is not clear. For, unlike a grand jury, they voted by a majority, and in case of equal division the Mayor gave 'his double voice.' When all this was finally put into shape is not distinctly recorded; but the royal charters which define the powers of the twenty-four seem not to create an absolutely new state of things, but rather to give a legal sanction to a state of things which had grown up without legal sanction. In the great correspondence of John Shillingford in 1447–8, to which we shall presently come, he constantly addresses his 'fellows,' and speaks of the 'fellowship.' But in his second letter he prays them to call before them 'at hall the substance of the commonalty,' who shall 'say manly [="viritim"] Yea or Nay.' These fellows of the Mayor may mean the Bailiffs, or the twelve assistants of 1344; but they seem more likely to be the twenty-four, now, as the order of 1426 shows, beginning to be recognized, as the order of 1496 shows them fully established.

The charter of 1497 was the immediate consequence of the dispute of 1496. The King, being at Exeter that year, determined to settle matters, and himself named the Mayor of 1497–8, William Frost. The charter at once establishes and modifies the narrowed constitution. The extreme claims of the twenty-four are not acknowledged. The double jury of 1344 was to elect the Mayor on behalf of the whole body. By the order of 1496 the twenty-four were to elect the Mayor

absolutely. By Henry the Seventh's charter, the twenty-four are not absolutely to elect the Mayor, but only to name two candidates for the office. The charter takes them for granted as an existing body, and that by the style of the Common Council. The preamble states that 'in divers times past great inconveniences, strifes, and debates have been had and made within this our city of Exeter for the election of a Mayor, four bailiffs, *four-and-twenty of the common council*, and four serjeants at mace of the same.' The King then, with a view to 'peaceable election,' goes on to legislate 'by the assent and consent of the Common Council of our said city and other sad and discreet citizens of the same.' The assent of the Commonalty at large it might have been too daring to claim. The order is:

That henceforth there shall be four-and-twenty of the most sufficient and discreet citizens and inhabitants of our said city of the Common Council, for term of their lives, and none of them to be removed except it be for poverty, disease, great age, or other cause reasonable, which causes shall be adjudged and determined by the said four-and-twenty, or by the more part of them, and after decease of any of the four-and-twenty, or the removing of them as is before rehearsed, that then the residue of the said four-and-twenty shall elect and choose unto them another citizen most sufficient, and inhabitant of our said city to fulfil the whole number of the said four-and-twenty, according as the custom is of the four-and-twenty aldermen within the [said] city of London.[1]

Here is an oligarchic constitution enough. The select body thus formed is to have absolute choice of

[1] It is 'said' in Izacke, p. 100; but there has been no mention of London.

the Bailiffs; the Recorder or Town Clerk is simply to 'show their names to the Commons' in presence of the twenty-four. But even the Tudor king and the sad and discreet citizens do not deprive the whole body of all share in the choice of the Mayor. The twenty-four are to choose 'two of the most able citizens,' but there is to be more than merely 'showing their names.'

> The said Recorder and Town Clerk or one of them shall . . . show their names to the commons that be franchised men, and they to choose one of them to be Mayor of our said city for the year then next ensuing, and he that shall so fortune to have the most voices of franchise men to be accepted and admitted for to be Mayor.

The charter of Charles the First renews all these provisions, and names a Mayor, John Acland, Mayor of the year 1627–28, and twenty-four members of the Chamber. It gives the Council the power of making by-laws, which it appears from Hoker that they already exercised, and a power which he does not mention, of sending to gaol and fining at pleasure those who refuse any civic office from Mayor downwards. This was probably not held to contradict Hoker's statement that the Council 'have no authority nor jurisdiction in any matters judicial, be it civil or criminal, otherwise than to advise, aid, and assist the Mayor and Bailiffs.' The judicial power is vested by the charter of Henry the Eighth, renewed by that of Charles, in the Mayor, Bailiffs, and Aldermen. These last are officers whose origin is not mentioned, and of whom we have hitherto heard only casually in the order of 1288, but whom Hoker declares to be very ancient. Their commission as justices of the peace, and the further commission of

some of them as justices of gaol delivery, followed on the creation of the county of the city.

The body thus formed, the twenty-four, the Chamber, the Common Council, never became so utterly separate from the mass of the freemen as it did in some other towns. It always remained a committee of the whole body, though no longer a freely chosen committee. And there was one power which they never got into their hands. In many towns the ruling bodies came to choose the citizens or burgesses who were sent to Parliament. At Exeter this right always remained with the whole body of freemen, enlarged, when the city became a county, by those who held freeholds within it, whether freemen or not. Indeed freemen who were also freeholders claimed to give a double vote, one in each character; but the *poll*, the counting of heads, was not allowed thus to lose its meaning. One effect of the position of the city as a distinct shire is that the Sheriff is the returning-officer, and that therefore the Mayor can be elected to represent the city. This has been often done in London and Bristol; but at Exeter such cases were rare. William Hurst, Mayor of 1545, was also member for the city; and it would seem that John Periam was chosen Mayor in 1587, when already holding a seat in Parliament. At Exeter, as elsewhere, the 'citizens' sent to represent the city, gradually change from real citizens to persons whose citizenship is conventional. A transitional stage may be seen in the sixteenth century. In 1553 it is declared, in strict conformity with the law, that 'none but freemen and inhabitants of this city ought to be chosen to serve in Parliament as citizens hereof.' In 1555 Sir John

Pollard was 'admitted to the freedom and liberties of this city, and chosen one of the citizens hereof to serve in Parliament.' He was clearly admitted to the freedom in order to qualify for the seat.

Of the great offices of the city we have seen how the more ancient Portreeve or Provost lived on by the side of the Mayor in the shape of two or four Bailiffs, Seneschals, or Stewards. The Provost moreover has left his mark in another shape. 'The name of the person is worn out, but the court of their jurisdiction retaineth his former name, being called the Provost Court.' It is called 'Curia Prætorii,' 'Curia Provostriæ Domini Regis;' this last description marking the original position of the *Præpositus* or Reeve, as the officer of the King or the Lady. This court, held by the Bailiffs only, was distinct from the court held by the Mayor and Bailiffs together. It is the direct continuation of that ancient assembly in which we saw a Provost of the time of Henry the Second, surrounded by his four Catchpoles. These last doubtless lived on in the Serjeants-at-mace, who stood in a special relation to the Bailiffs, and were even called Under-bailiffs. The Provost's Court was held in a special room in the Guildhall, and took cognizance of debt, assault, trespass, and many other matters. It had a seal with the legend 'Sigillum Prætorii Civitatis Exon.' The notion of a *Prætorium* —the name is as old as 1254—is most likely connected with the belief that a Romanesque building in Waterbury Street, which survived till the present century, and which we would fain believe was the Guildhall of William Hoel the Portreeve, was the Roman *prætorium*.

Still officers who had once held the chief magistracy, and were now cut down to the second, really had some likeness to the Roman prætors.

The Mayor and the Bailiffs, the newer and older heads of the city, formed part of its style, which no other officer did. Of other officers, the Sheriff could not come into being before the city became a separate shire. The Recorder, the law officer of the city, grew up through the practical need of such an adviser; the regular list begins in the year 1354. The list of Town-Clerks begins in 1511; but some one must have discharged the duties of that office long before. The office of Chamberlain was instituted in 1555 by Act of Parliament. His primary duty was the care of orphans; by the custom of Exeter the Mayor was the guardian of the orphan children of all freemen. This office has become specially connected with local history. For its first bearer was our precious informant John Vowell, alias Hoker. He served from 1555 to 1601, having the fee of 4*l.* by the year, with liveries which made up 32 shillings more. Afterwards we find on the list the names of the later local writers, Richard Izacke (1653-1683), who so largely copied Hoker without acknowledgement, and Samuel Izacke (1693-1729), the continuator of his father. The office is thus described by its first bearer.

His office chiefly and specially concerneth the orphans, and then consequently in all things concerning the government and estate of the commonwealth; and therefore it is very requisite that he be wise, learned, and well acquainted in all the orders, ordinances, customs, and the whole estate of the commonwealth.

On such points he is 'according to his knowledge

to advise, instruct, and inform' the Mayor and Commons Council. The Recorder in short is a lawyer; the Chamberlain is bound to be a local antiquary. And certainly no man ever did his duty better in that way than John Hoker. Besides Izacke's unacknowledged pilferings, besides much that is yet unprinted, we have the work which I have already spoken of, 'The Antique Description and Account of the City of Excester, in Three Parts.' The second part, first published in 1584, consists of a 'Catalogue of the Bishops of Excester; with the Description of the Antiquity and first Foundation of the Cathedral Church of the same.' This work—'pamphlet' he calls it—is ushered in with a curious 'Epistle Dedicatory' to John Wolton, the Bishop. Far more curious is the third part, dated in the same year, and its epistles dedicatory. This is 'a Pamphlet of the Offices and Duties of every particular Sworn Officer of the City of Excester,' with the Epistle Dedicatory to all those of whose duties he is treating. A loyal citizen, a magistrate and descendant of former magistrates, next to 'God's Holy Word and Testament' he sets 'sundry good and politic Constitutions and ancient Ordinances of this your City.' He adds 'out whereof I have drawn this little Pamphlet and Strene, referring you for your further instructions to the Great Leger and Black Book, wherein at large I have set down whatever concerneth the State of this City, and the Government of the same.' This 'Great Leger and Black Book' is the source from which so many have drawn—Bishop Godwin, in his Catalogue of Bishops, not the least—without a word of thanks to their guide.

At Exeter, as wherever powerful lords, temporal or spiritual, had possessions in or near a city, the rights of the commonwealth had to be steadily maintained against them. Men of both classes had rights or claims which seriously interfered with the well-being of the city. To that well-being the free navigation of the Exe was of the first importance. It was of no less importance that the city and its magistrates should have full jurisdiction everywhere within the city walls. There were lords and prelates whom the city had to withstand in both respects. In a long controversy 'touching certain liberties' between the city and the Prior of Saint Nicolas, settled in 1260, the temporal disputant was the stronger. It was more serious when the city had a dispute with the Abbot and Convent of Sherborne concerning the passage and ferry at Exmouth, a dispute settled in 1267, seemingly on terms favourable to the city, as the Abbot 'disclaimed his right, title, and interest in the same.' But the most dangerous neighbours were at their own gates and within their own walls. The earls of Devonshire were dangerous both by land and water, and frequent disputes arose between the city and the bishops. The position of the ecclesiastical quarter, a separate fortification within the city wall, and bounded by it on the outer side, was sure to give cause to controversies. In their disputes with the city, the Bishop and the Chapter, whatever questions they may have had among themselves, always act as an united body. In 1248, before the fortification of the close, a dispute between the city and the Chapter was settled by several arbitrators, of whom Earl Richard, not yet Augustus, was one. But this

concerned only the rights of the two parties in the fee of Saint Sidwell outside the wall, and the judgement was favourable to the city. The question of jurisdiction within the walls was of far greater moment, and in the course of the fifteenth century, one chief magistrate of Exeter won no small fame by his energy in asserting the rights of the city. This was John Shillingford, thrice Mayor. His correspondence with his fellows during a great suit with the Bishop and Chapter is useful for more than the history of Exeter. The Bishops and their Chapter had long claimed for the ecclesiastical quarter, 'the Bishop's fee' or 'Saint Stephen's fee,' an exemption from the civic jurisdiction. The Mayor and commonalty, on the other hand, claimed jurisdiction everywhere within the city, the Bishop's palace not excepted. The quarrel was an old one; each side, as ever in a conflict of jurisdiction, had done things which the other side held to be unlawful and tending to disorder. Each side too had said and done strong things towards the other side personally; the canons are described as making good use, not only of their fists, but of swords and knives. The whole of the charges and counter-charges, told in the vigorous language of the fifteenth century, are highly amusing as well as instructive. They are good for the history of the English tongue and of English legal pleadings as well as for the municipal history of Exeter. The Mayor himself is no small part of the picture. John Shillingford, a citizen and merchant, belonged to an old family in the county. He seems to have been the son of an earlier John Shillingford, also Mayor in two successive years, 1428–29 and 1429–30,

'a very wise man and learned in the laws'—it is hardly possible that they can be the same man. The younger John was clearly a man of personal importance, a thorough man of business, not without learning, and vigorous indeed in the use of his native tongue. When he was first chosen Mayor in September 1444, he refused the office and was forced to take it only by a writ of privy seal from the King. He was not sworn in till February 18, 1445. 'Albeit, at his first entrance into the said office, he took the same on him unwillingly, yet afterwards did he perform it with cheerfulness, and got great applause by his diligence therein.' In his third mayoralty (1447–8) came the great strife. The Bishop Edmund Lacy (1420–1455), 'good blessed man in himself,' as the Mayor calls him, brought a suit against the city because the serjeant-at-mace had arrested the servant of the Chancellor of the church, when he was bearing up his master's cope ('capa aurea'), as he was going in procession ('eundo in processionem divini servitii) within the Bishop's palace. Other cases of arrest of clerks at the suit of citizens are complained of.

Now followed the correspondence which is our chief authority on the matter. It tells us a great deal, but not everything. It is unhappily imperfect, and, where it is perfect, it leaves out much that we need for a full understanding, but which at the time might be taken for granted. We see clearly, in the complaints and answers on both sides, what the dispute was about; we see less clearly how it was actually settled, if settled it was. The citizens complain to the King of a privy seal by which, contrary, as they allege, to the laws of the

realm and specially to the Great Charter, he has removed the cause from the courts of common law to be heard by Archbishop Stafford, Lord Chancellor, and the two Chief Justices, the famous Sir John Fortescue and Sir Richard Newton. The letter is clear and bold; it seems to have given no offence, but to have had no effect. The Mayor goes backwards and forwards between Exeter and London; he gives the most racy accounts of his journeys, specially of his interviews with the Chancellor, by whom he is always received in the most friendly way. Stafford was a West-country man, and had been a canon of Exeter, so that he and the Mayor were doubtless old acquaintances. The constant habit of making gifts to persons in authority comes out in all its fulness. We have seen many cases of gifts in money to kings and others; gifts of wine are yet more common. So now the Chancellor was kept in fish by the city while the matter was pending. These gifts are entered in the Receiver's accounts, and are often spoken of in the Mayor's letters. We hear of the 17*s.* 6*d.* spent 'in vii piscibus vocatis congre missis Domino Cancellario Angliæ,' and of the less costly 2*s.* 8*d.* spent 'in iiii piscibus vocatis crabbis missis eidem Cancellario eodem tempore.' These, together with 'iiii de Bokhorñ' (dried whiting), were sent from Exeter to London at a cost of eight shillings. It took the Mayor, an active man, four days to ride the journey; which suggests that the fish were salt and the crabs alive. But the suit, after all, seems to be settled, neither in the ordinary way nor by the appointed arbitrators, but by two Judges, Sir Richard Newton already mentioned, and Nicolas Aysshetton, sitting at Barnstaple, December 12, 1488. And even

then the settlement took the shape of an agreement between the two sides, 'by mene and mediation of Thomas Courtney Erle of Devonshire and of Sr. William Bonvile knight.' How all this came about is not made clear either in the letters or by their editor. It is a point for a legal historian to look to.

The points both of interest and curiosity in the letters and pleadings are endless. The Mayor had much to say about Penholtkeyre and Vespasian, and about times long before Vespasian. The Bishop and Chapter do not enter into matters B.C., but they call in question the earliest alleged matter A.D. They 'seyen that thei doute of Vespasians being atte Excestre, and so at Burdeaux and Jerusalem to sille xxx Jewes hedes for a peny.' Here perhaps they have the better of the argument; it is less clear when 'they say trewe it is that the saide now Citee of Excestre was of old tyme a Burgh and atte all tymes hath be and is auncion demesne, but never under the name of a citee byfore the stallacion of Leofrik in the said Cathedrall Chirch.' And they say farther, 'atte which tyme the saide Chirch Cimitery paleys and other londes and tenements longing therto were separate and distincte fro the saide Citee and no parcell thereof as it appereth in the Boke of Domus Day.' The Mayor has Latin to quote in answer, and he clearly knew his Domesday better than the Bishop. The Bishop's argument assumes that only an episcopal see can be a city, a doctrine which was established by his time, but which has no kind of ground in Domesday. We mark too the way in which, before Domesday was printed, people used to say (as they often do still) that anything they

chose was in it. That record certainly says nothing about the church, cemetery, and palace being distinct from the city.

In one article the Dean and Chapter give a lively picture of the sports of the ungoverned youth of Exeter. They have a cloister, and a chapter-house and library within it, with doors, and those doors

atte all tymes have be shette except tymes to goo in procession or to the Chapitre House or to the said Library or any other such resonable tyme ; atte which tymes and in especiall in tyme of dyvyne service, ungoodly ruled people most custumabely yong peple of the said Comminalte within the said cloistre have exercised unlawfull games as the toppe, queke, penny prykke and most atte tenys, by the which the walles of the said Cloistre have be defowled and the glas wyndowes all to brost, as it openly sheweth, contrarie to all good and goostly godenesse and directly ayens all good policy and ayens all good rule within the sayde cloyster to suffre eny such mysruled peple to have commune entre.

The Mayor declines to enter on these points, but he remarks that the cloister was something new. But the custom of playing at ball, possibly in cloisters, certainly in churchyards and other ecclesiastical places, was common elsewhere.

Extracts might be multiplied for ever, especially if one wished to draw a picture of John Shillingford. The final compromise at Barnstaple was distinctly more favourable to the ecclesiastical party. It is decreed that the Bishop has a 'lordship and fee' within the city, with court-baron and court-leet and other incidents of a lordship, apart from the jurisdiction

of the city, and that the city has no authority to make arrests and the like within the boundaries of that lordship, except in certain specified highways and streets. On the other hand, the Bishop is not to 'summon, attach, or arrest within the said church or churchyard any person of the city,' nor to exercise any but spiritual jurisdiction over them. Provision is made for the discharge of various civic payments and duties, as the watch of the walls, by the Bishop's tenants dwelling within the walls. Certain new charters obtained by the Bishop are to be annulled, and both sides pledge themselves not to obtain from King or Parliament any grants or powers contrary to the present agreement.

The vigorous Mayor John Shillingford, notwithstanding his strong assertion of the rights of his city and his protest against acts of the King himself, was not displeasing to persons in authority. The King had caused him to accept the mayoralty, and he was on excellent terms with the Chancellor. Presently we find him working for the good of the city with another Chancellor, John Kemp, Archbishop of York and Cardinal. The Exe bridge was at this time out of repair; its maintenance, notwithstanding its special revenues, was a heavy charge on the city. He petitions the executors of Cardinal Beaufort, of whom Kemp was one, for some almsdeeds for the good of the Cardinal's soul in the shape of a gift towards the repairs of the bridge. The letter sets forth the history of the bridge, and illustrates, like many other notices, the kind of sacred character which bridges held in those days. Money was promised for the good work, but

Shillingford died before it was paid, and no one was left to press the claim as he could press it.

Though the great suit was settled, questions between church and city did not cease. In 1467, a controversy arose about a tower on the wall which the Bishop, John Booth, used as a prison, 'by reason whereof he claimed the inheritance of the same, but on a fair trial it proved to the contrary, which said tower the city pulled down, and employed the lead and other materials thereof towards the reparation of the said walls.' And in 1532 we hear of 'a pale erected in Saint Peter's close, between Saint Martin's Church and the Sub-dean's house, which was by the Chamber ordered to be taken down, by giving notice thereof to the Dean and Chapter of this church, it being a nuisance or encroachment.' The position of the Bishop's palace led to disputes. Bishop Valentine Carey in 1623 puts it plaintively to James the First 'that he hath no other house for his habitation belonging to his bishopric save only one within the city of Exeter, and that inclosed within the common wall of the city, whereby he is debarred from taking the air abroad into the open fields for his health and recreation unless he go thorrowe a part of the city.' His predecessors were allowed 'a door through the wall for their more easy passage abroad,' and he complains that this has been refused to him. A letter from the King follows, requiring the city to allow the Bishop to make a convenient door through the city wall and to have the free use of it from time to time, he being ready whensoever any public urgent necessity shall require for the good and safety of the city to make it up again.

But it was not only with spiritual lords that the

city had to strive. The feeling between it and the Earls comes out in an odd way a little later. The two noblemen who had helped to bring John Shillingford's suit to an issue were presently enemies. Sir William Bonvile was now a peer, and we find him and Earl Thomas, as in the still later fight of Nibley in Gloucestershire, carrying out the doctrine of self-help, the old Teutonic *fǽhde*, in a very vigorous shape. In 1453, when the combatants ought to have been, if not at Constantinople, at least at Bordeaux—

A great fight happened on Clistheath between Thomas Courtney Earl of Devon and the Lord William Bonvil, Baron of Shut, where many persons were grievously wounded and much hurt done : the occasion whereof was about a dog, but great displeasure thereby came to the city, where presently after the fight the Lord Bonvil sheltered himself, which the Earl took amiss, thinking it had been so done by the city in some displeasure to himself.

In the last words of this entry unfriendly relations between the Earl and the city are assumed as the natural state of things. The long strife arising out of the encroachments of the earls on the navigation of the Exe still went on. One story is told with great life, under the year 1309. We notice that Hugh Courtenay (spoken of as Earl of Devonshire, though his claim was not acknowledged till long after), though not a freeman of Exeter, has a house in the city and is living in it, and that the Mayor, Roger Beynin, is his retainer and wears his livery. The 'cators' (caterers or manciples) of the Earl and the Bishop come to buy fish in the market when there are only three pots of fish for sale. The servants of the great men wish each to take the

whole for his own master, and a strife follows. The Mayor, 'minding the welfare of the commons of the said city, and that they also might have the benefit of the said market,' ruled that the Earl should have one pot, the Bishop another, and that the third should be left for others who might wish to buy. The Earl threatens and bids the Mayor come to him. He goes, but not alone; for he first 'calls together his brethren and honest commons of the said city to the Guildhall,' and bids them come with him to protect him against possible violence on the part of the Earl. The Mayor goes into the Earl's 'lodging-chamber' and the door is shut. The Earl 'storms'; the Mayor takes off his livery coat and gives it back to the Earl. The Earl storms more fiercely, while the commons beat at the door, demanding their Mayor. The Earl at last, in bodily fear, prays the Mayor to quiet the people, which he does, and 'so peaceably they all returned.' It was now that the city, acting through 'the Mayor and Common Council'—whatever the last phrase meant in 1309—made the order against wearing the badges of livery of 'foreigners.'

Earl Hugh was of a 'choleric disposition,' and for several years he bore 'high displeasure against this city.' 'Displeasure grew into anger, and from thence to an extreme hatred and revenge.' 'Foreigner,' though householder within the wall, he did all that he could against his neighbours. In 1311 and in 1316 we see him 'intruding upon their liberties, destroying their haven, building up a quay at Topsham, taking from them perforce the fishing in the river of Exe and every way oppressing them.' Complaints go to the King, writs come to the Sheriff, inquisitions give verdicts in favour

of the city, but 'no redress could be had, might at that time so much overcoming right.' This choleric Earl lived till 1341, and in 1322 he had another distinct dispute with the city. Two causes were tried before the Judges of Assize sitting in the castle. The Earl claimed from the city the manor of Exe Island and some adjoining suburbs, and he and the Prior of Saint Nicolas brought a joint suit about the Lammas fair. Both verdicts were for the city: yet Exe Island was long after in the hands of the Earls. This Earl passes for religious and bountiful; but he had a great dispute with Bishop Walter of Stapledon, and the monks of Ford complained of his exactions. He was doubtless thought well of at Topsham, where he set up a market as well as a quay. The whole story shows how, even in England, where law was stronger than in other lands, a powerful noble could defy the laws and do damage to a whole city. It was not till after the attainder of an earl of the sixteenth century that the city got possession of the site now adjudged to it by law, and then only as the special reward of loyalty to the Crown.

Closely connected with the island was the endless controversy about the navigation of the river. In 1462 the citizens say that 'the waters of the Exe from Exmouth to Cowley bridge ought to be common to the inhabitants of the said city to fish in and to have course and recourse with their boats, vessels, ships and marchandise.' The city takes advantage of an interregnum among earls to press its claim. The Earl Thomas of Shillingford's time was succeeded by another of his name, who was attainted after the battle of Towton for his support of the cause of Lancaster. Eight years

later Edward the Fourth granted the earldom to his own supporter Lord Stafford. In 1462 the city used the favourable interval to claim the restitution of the suburb without West Gate, the suburb adjoining Exe Island, though not the island itself. How seriously the prosperity of the city was hindered by the enmity of the earls is shown by a glance at chronology. Exeter flourished, according to the standard of those ages, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, when the earls were only growing. She flourished again under Elizabeth and James, when law had got too strong for this or that man. From the thirteenth century to the sixteenth the city was kept in the background by the enmity of its powerful neighbours. That the Exeter of later days has not kept the place which she held in the first half of the seventeenth century is due to causes which neither earls nor common councils could control.

The history of a commercial city is sure to be the history of its commercial companies, whether they take the form of guilds, strictly so called or not. Exeter had guilds from a very early time, and the rules of the oldest among them are recorded in the ancient English tongue in the great Thesaurus of Hickes. One of them, from the mention of the Bishop and canons, must belong to the days of Leofric. In these guilds the objects were largely religious, the other purposes being the mutual help and benefit of the members. In another stage the trade crafts largely took the shape of religious guilds. At Exeter, as often elsewhere, alongside of the King's power of incorporation the like power of incorporating

companies was exercised by the city itself. The records of such incorporations begin in the latter half of the fifteenth century; but many of these acts are, like royal charters, mere renewals and confirmations; the power was doubtless far older. In 1477 there was a controversy between the Mayor and citizens and the Company of Taylors, touching a new incorporation which the craft had procured from the King. This implies an earlier incorporation by the city, and the royal incorporation was looked on as a breach of municipal privilege, and led to long disputes. The bakers are heard of in 1428–9 and in 1477–8; in the former year they had already a Master and Company, and the elder John Shillingford acted vigorously against a strike on their part. In 1462–3 they received a charter—that is doubtless a renewed charter—of incorporation from the Mayor and Common Council, and at the same time the charter of the Glovers and Skinners was renewed. In 1452-3 the Cordwainers and Tuckers dispute as to the precedence in the Mayor's procession; order is taken 'that both companies should march together, one of either company hand in hand.' In 1481–2 the Cordwainers and Curriers have their charter renewed, and a second renewal comes in 1555–6. In 1586–7 the 'Carpenters, Masons, Joiners and Glaziers and Painters' are incorporated. Weavers, Sheremen, and Tuckers had a charter of 1479–80; but in 1619 they got a new one, this time from the King, and the British Solomon gave the company very large powers over its own members, powers which these bodies often exercised without mercy. The Taylors especially enforced their bye-laws against refractory brethren by force of arms,

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in a way which we might rather have looked for from the butchers, who had also a corporate being.

At Exeter in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the craft of weavers, tuckers, and shearmen was active indeed. The woollen and serge trade was so prosperous that it seems strange that Exeter deigned to see a rival in the old bishop's town of Crediton. Henry Hamlyn, Mayor of that year, 1538–9,

was the first devisor that the weekly markets for wool, yarn, and kersies were here erected, for the compassing whereof he waded through difficulties, not only with his dissenting brethren at first, but also with the inhabitants of the town of Crediton, who for a while did much to impugn the same.

Alongside of this local jealousy of so small a town as Crediton may be set the indignation of the local writers at the attempt of Bishop Voysey, in the middle of the sixteenth century, to set up the trade of kerseys in his native town of Sutton Coldfield in Warwickshire. John Hoker does not approve, and Bishop Godwin is this time not content with copying Hoker, but denounces the attempt as 'horrible sacrilege' which God refused to bless. In the next century the Exeter trade was at its height; but the city still had greater and more distant rivals. The Hamburg company and the African company are complained of; above all, the tuckers of Exeter, under William and Mary, keep a keen look out towards Ireland. 'The manufacture of the new drapy is much decayed by reason of the increase of the said manufacture in Ireland.' Transportation of English or Irish wool to foreign parts is to be stopped, while Parliament is

petitioned to make Exeter a free port for the importation of prize wool. In short the trade of the whole world is to be regulated in the interest of Exeter, and specially of its tuckers, weavers, and shearmen.

But Exeter in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries contained a greater and more worshipful body than any of these. This was the company of the 'Governo' Consulls and Societie of Marchantes Adventurers of the Citie of Excester, trafiquing the realme of Fraunce and dominions of the Frenche kinge.' So the style stands in the charter granted by Queen Elizabeth, June 17, 1560. The second word is, throughout the charter, written 'consulls' or 'consuls;' in the rules of the Company itself it is written 'consultes;' 'but in its later acts usually 'consuls.' Either name may be a corruption of the other. 'Consuls' in England would be rare, if not unique; but the name is quite possible. An earlier charter from Queen Mary in 1556 is recorded; but that of Elizabeth was the first that was acted on to any effect. It contains no reference to the charter of Mary, while it speaks in marked terms of the loyalty of the Exeter merchants at the time of the siege in the days of Edward. It created a very powerful body, quite unlike the older companies of bakers, tailors, or even weavers and tuckers. Such a body naturally sought for its incorporation from Crown, and it would hardly have received it from any local authority. The privileges granted to the Merchants roused much wrath, specially among the older companies, that of the tailors foremost of all. They were able to bring about a long delay in the ratification of the charter, which was drawn up early in 1559, but not signed till June 1560, and

then with the addition of words which were meant to silence all cavils, 'Done by the Queene herself and of the date as aforesaid by authoritie of Parliament.' The eloquence of the Chamberlain John Hoker, which went very deep indeed into matters, quelled the general dislike for the nonce; still a new power had appeared in Exeter; the city and its Mayor were hardly so great as the Company and its Governor.

The constitution of the Company was formed in much the same exclusive spirit as the constitution which had grown up in the city itself. No one in the city and county of Exeter may trade with France, except members of the Company. The first members of the Company are named in the charter. The worshipful merchant trading with foreign parts is to be kept very distinct from 'artificers and users of handycraft and mysteries.' For three years indeed all artificers 'which will exercise, doe, and frequent the mysteries and arte of merceries and marchandize' may be admitted on their request without fine; only they must forsake their inferior calling, and lose the privileges of the Company if they fall back upon it. After three years the consent of the Company and the payment of a fine become needful, privileges being reserved only to the sons and apprentices of members of the body. The Governor and Consuls cannot legislate without the consent of the more part of the Company, but the right of summons gives them great powers of packing. The first Governor named in the charter is John Peter the Customer, the only esquire in the list. He was succeeded by William Hurst, several times Mayor, a man of great local repute, who

is one of the nominated consuls. Other members are John Hoker and John Blackaller, the Mayor of 1548–9. The list contains most of the leading men of the city; a few who tried to go on trading with France without joining the Company were presently taught their new duties. Discipline within the body was very strict; absence from meetings when summoned, the use of 'unseemly words,' and offences of various kinds, were sharply punished, chiefly by fines, but sometimes by imprisonment. The city authorities were called in, when needful, to carry out the acts of the Company. Even a Governor was fined for absence from a stated meeting. Dinners too on fitting anniversaries were clearly not despised. The Company played a great part all through the reigns of Elizabeth and James, and down to the civil wars. Its importance then ceased, and it gradually died out about the time of the Revolution. Its chief dealings were with 'the parties of Fraunce and Britayne;' but they sometimes reached much further, to the furthest parts of Portugal and Spain, 'to lade wynes at Juberaltare or Sherys.'

Such a trade in the days of Elizabeth brought the Merchant Adventurers of Exeter into the very thick of the affairs of the world. They had sometimes to suffer from excessive duties in the French ports and sometimes from the open violence of the Spaniards. This led to many dealings both with foreign ambassadors and with great men at home, and the wealth of the Company was sometimes discreetly applied, as we have seen that of the city was also. The flourishing age of the Exeter Company was the very time of that early maritime greatness of England in which men of Devonshire took such

a leading part. The most famous of the band, Walter Raleigh, was by some claimed, certainly without reason, as an Exeter man born, and at a time later than his own, Exeter, as well as Devonshire generally, was proud of him. But in the days of his power he was by no means beloved by the Merchant Adventurers, with whose trade his privileges and monopolies seriously interfered. With his half-brothers the Gilberts on the other hand, and with John Davis, the relations of the Company were of the very best. The Merchants of Exeter had a large share in their enterprises, which were expected to open a new trade route for the cloth of the city to the furthest parts of Asia.

Exeter had also a share in the colonization of America. Men of the West had much to do with the settlements both in Virginia and in New England, and in some cases Exeter is distinctly mentioned. Thus in 1606, of the two Virginia patents granted by James the First on the petition of Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Chief Justice Popham, one, that of North Virginia, was granted to a 'Company of Knights, Gentlemen, and Merchants of Bristol, Exeter, and Plymouth.' Western men also and Exeter ships had their part in the early settlements of Massachusetts Bay and elsewhere in New England, as well as in the attempts at colonizing Maine. But in all these matters Exeter played a part which was quite secondary to that of Bristol and other places. The ancient capital of the West had already a rival in its own neighbour Plymouth.

A large part of the care of the municipal body was given to the many charitable institutions of the city,

which were largely under their control. Of the two chief foundations, the Hospitals of Saint John and Saint Mary Magdalen, that of Saint John remained under the patronage of the bishops. By the time of Bishop Grandison (1327–1369) it had somewhat fallen into decay. He increased its revenues by an appropriation of the church of Ernscombe; he enlarged the numbers both of the clergy and of the poor inmates, and he added a new feature, a master of grammar and twelve scholars. Even this last purpose did not save the house from suppression in 1540. It was granted to Thomas Carew, and the church was used as a private dwelling. Hugh Crossing, Mayor in 1620, planned its restoration, and in 1629, after his death, a new Saint John's Hospital arose by the care of his widow Joan. The former church-tower became the gate, the nave the school-room, while the choir was restored to divine worship as the chapel. The foundation was placed under the trusteeship and government of the Chamber; it was confirmed by a royal charter in 1637, and it received many later gifts. But of two objects designed by Hugh Crossing and his widow one only was carried out. The new Saint John's never became a hospital for the poor. But the Grammar School of Exeter thus arose, and the Blue School also. In many cities the grammar school forms part of the cathedral foundation; at Exeter it is an institution strictly municipal.

Thus the hospital of Saint John, civic in its beginning, came back to the city after many changes. The Magdalen Hospital remained under the care of the city ever since the exchange made with Bishop Briwere.

In Hoker's account of the city officers the duties of the Warden of the Magdalen are laid down. He is to see that the church, houses, and buildings are repaired, and that none of its property is leased without the consent of the Mayor and Twenty-four. In Hoker's day the house still fulfilled its original purpose. The inmates are spoken of as 'lazar-people,' and none are to be admitted except 'sick persons in the disease of the leprosy.' But as that disease died out in the country, the Magdalen-house gradually came to be an ordinary alms-house, only with a preference for scrofulous inmates. Besides the Warden of the Magdalen and the Chamberlain, guardian of orphans, a third municipal officer had duties of a specially benevolent kind. The Warden of the Poor was a member of the Chamber yearly chosen, who had to look after the other charitable institutions and gifts of which the city was trustee. Such gifts are perhaps thickest in the seventeenth century, but they begin much earlier. Thus Simon Grendon, three times Mayor, who died in 1411, founded in 1406 a hospital for poor people, known as the Ten Cells, which he entrusted to the care of the city. Its endowment was increased during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by various smaller gifts, and it came to be specially devoted to the maintenance of widows. A little later, in 1408, Sir William Bonvile, the father of the Lord Bonvile of whom we have already heard, gave all his property in Exeter, except his own mansion-house—another instance of the great men of the neighbourhood having houses in the city—to the establishment of a hospital or alms-house which was known as the Combrew. Its patronage remained in the descendants

of the founder till the attainder of Henry Grey Duke of Suffolk in 1554, when it passed to the Crown. It was granted by Queen Elizabeth to the city by a charter of 1562, in which the Queen herself undertook the payment of pensions to four poor people. This foundation seems to have got mixed up with another founded in 1675 by Richard Lant; the buildings became ruinous, and the site was alienated. John Palmer also, who died in 1487, founded an alms-house in 1479 which came under the management of the city, but seemingly without any direction on the founder's part. The foundation of John Gilberd in 1538 witnesses, like the Magdalen, to the late prevalence of leprosy. His hospital, though under the management of the city, was not in Exeter, but at King's Teignton. A warden is to be chosen from among the 'lazar-people' themselves, and it is provided that 'such amongst them as should have ability to labour should not be in idleness, but should assist the rest of the company that should be impotent, and also, as their powers would extend, should labour in their herb-garden for their own sustenance.' A little later comes the foundation of William Hurst, five times Mayor. His alms-house, built outside the East gate and afterwards removed to another site in the same neighbourhood, was placed under the care of the city by the founder's will. He forbade marriage, and the inmates were often dismissed for breach of this rule. A crowd of other gifts, greater and smaller, were made in the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. One of the most curious was that of Griffith Ameredith, in whose name the days before Æthelstan seem to come back. In 1556 he gave a rent-charge of

thirty-six shillings to find shrouds for the decent burial of criminals executed at Kingswell in the parish of Heavitree, then and long after the hanging-place. The Blue Maids Hospital, founded in 1656 by the Trustees of Elize (Eliseus, Elisha ?) Hele, esquire, which was afterwards oddly mixed up with the gift of Robert Vilwayne, M.D., in 1660 for the maintenance of scholars in Exeter College, Oxford, seems to have been under the care of the city, but not of the Warden of the Poor. Other benefactors chose as their trustees the Dean and Chapter, or one of the incorporated companies, or the minister and churchwardens of one of the city parishes, sometimes even when part of the gift was to go to institutions under the care of the city.

Some other institutions were more directly the creation of the city itself. In 1578 'a house of correction was here established, towards which the citizens contributed liberally, whereof'—one would like to know why—'many of them afterwards repented.' In 1603, in 1625, and in 1664, we read of the making or purchasing of a 'pest-house.' That name commonly means a house to which healthy people may withdraw from an infected place, but that which was bought in Saint Sidwell's parish in 1625 was 'for the benefit of such poor people as were or should be infected with the plague.' Of the later history of many of these institutions we shall have to speak again.

To turn back again to the administration itself, Hoker's 'pamphlet' is our best guide for the times of which he speaks. Besides the yearly Mayor, Bailiffs, and Sheriff, the abiding Recorder and Chamberlain, he

has also something to say of Aldermen, of the antiquity of their office, the meaning of their name and its analogies. But he has little to tell us about the history of the office at Exeter. We have seen Aldermen taken for granted as early as 1286 and referred to again in the charter of Henry the Eighth, but they do not appear in the charter of Henry the Seventh, nor in that of Charles the First for any but magisterial purposes. Within the city their office was, in Hoker's day, 'rather inquisitive than judicial.' They appear as general searchers into all things amiss; but they seem in some sort to stay outside the general constitution of the city. They were eight in number, chosen by the Chamber for life from the four wards of the city. Hoker has also to tell of a number of smaller officers, of one of whom he laments the fallen greatness. The Constable was so called as *cuncta stabiliens*, 'one that establisheth and settleth all things in peace, order, and quietness.' But things had changed. 'What constables by law may do, and in times past were wont to do, it is needless to set down, because a great part of their office is shortened and committed by statute to the justices of the peace, and unto whom and to whose commandments they are now servitors and to attend.' They had even come to be for some purposes yoked with the Scavengers, also a fallen race. They too were 'necessary officers, and who cannot be wanting in any city or town.' Yet even in Hoker's day the Scavengers stood higher than their name would now imply; they exercised a kind of ædileship over all matters touching sweetness or safety. 'They be called *Scavengers*, as who saith *shewers* or *advertisers*; for so the name soundeth.' The sword-

bearer too, dating from Henry the Seventh's visit, while he carried the sword before the Mayor, did a good deal besides. There were also 'Watchmen and Wardens;' two 'Wardens of the Bridges,' the 'Head Warden' and the 'Young Warden;' also the Wardens of the Shambles, who had to keep a keen eye on the butchers, and to see that 'no bull unbaited be set to sale.' This brings us to the 'Bullring-keeper, commonly called the Mayor of the Bullring.' He had other duties, such as looking after stray beasts, and held 'an office of countenance.' His main function is thus described:—

> When any bull or bear baiting is appointed, he is first to make the Mayor privy thereof, and no baiting to be used within the city, but that the said Mayor be present or give leave thereunto. Also he shall see all things to be well and orderly used at such pastimes.

The home of a city in its municipal character, its place for assembly and debate and administration of justice, is the Guildhall. In idea it is the first of the three chief buildings of a city, alongside of the church of the Bishop and the castle of the King or other lord. It is more truly than either of these the possession of the citizens themselves; the life of the city itself more truly gathers round it. But it comes of the special character of English history that nowhere in England does the municipal element stand forth before all eyes in the shape of a building on a level with those which represent the military and the ecclesiastical element. Nowhere does the municipal house proclaim itself as the true head of the city, nowhere does it announce its presence from afar, like the cities of Italy and Flanders, by towers rivalling the proudest of those that shoot

up from the minster or the fortress. In England the palace of the king at Westminster has become the *palazzo pubblico* of the whole nation. At Exeter the Guildhall will strike any one who walks the whole High Street, but it is no rival to Saint Peter's as it still is or to Rougemount as it once was. Its front is not without dignity, but it loses by its position, not standing free from houses on any side. No such view can be had of the Exeter Guildhall as there is of that of York rising above the river. And what is seen in the street is not the oldest part of the building. We have seen that there was a Guildhall at Exeter before there was a Mayor; we have seen the Portreeve of the twelfth century doing his duty within it. If the building in Waterbury Street was the ancient Guildhall, the site was changed when a new one was built in 1330. The present building dates from 1464. A hall of that date lurks behind the front of cinque-cento which masks it and which spans the foot-path. This is the work of 1593; in its confusion of styles, English windows between Italian columns, it has all the impress of that transitional age, an age whose works have a special interest as those of a transitional age, but which one would have thought were the very last which a sane taste would have picked out to imitate now. The Guildhall of Exeter may remind one of the tongue of much of the law business which has been done within it. Latin, French, English, each came to the help of one another, whichever the perplexed town-clerk found easiest to eke out his sentence. And the law which was administered in the Guildhall of Exeter was not always the same as the law that prevailed in other parts of the

kingdom. The great commonwealth of the West had customs of its own as to the inheritance and disposal of lands within its own borders. We have already heard of the act which abolished gavelkind. The lands of a freeman who died intestate were divisible among brothers and sisters equally; but he had full power of bequeathing them to whom he would. At Exeter the courtesy of England went so far that the husband, after the birth of an heir, might grant away his wife's lands to whom he would. And the wills of Exeter freemen were proved in the courts of their own city.[1] The city coffers were enriched by deodands and the forfeited goods of felons and traitors. Other towns had also customs of their own, sometimes the same as those of Exeter, sometimes different. All mark the advances towards a separate life which were made by English municipalities, and the way in which the general history of the kingdom kept them from the same full developement as in other lands.

[1] On these points see Izacke (that is doubtless Hoker), 21, 26, 32, 61, 63, 75.

CHAPTER VI.

ECCLESIASTICAL EXETER.

1225-1707.

Character of the Church of Exeter—History of the bishopric—The local Bishops—Papal interference—Rebuilding of Saint Peter's—Its architectural character—The Palace—The Vicars and their College—The Annivellars—The later bishops—John Voysey—Suppression of monasteries—Fall of Saint Nicolas—of Saint James—The Friaries—Burial of Sir Henry Raleigh—Suppression of the friars—The Deans—Reginald Pole—Simon Haynes—His scheme of reform—Spoliation of the bishopric—Plunder of the parish churches—James Turbeville bishop—Burning of Agnes Priest—Elizabethan bishops—Number of Residentiaries fixed—Restitution to the Chapter and the Vicars—John Hoker's rebuke of the city—Joseph Hall bishop—Treatment of the churches after the siege—State of things under the Commonwealth and Protectorate—Suppression of parish churches—Division of Saint Peter's—Restoration bishops—Seth Ward—Sir Jonathan Trelawney.

SOME things in the ecclesiastical history of Exeter have been told already in following the general history of the city. We have now to look at its specially ecclesiastical side, as a contribution to the general history of ecclesiastical buildings and foundations. Such contributions will be smaller in Exeter than in many other cities. The story gathers almost wholly round the fabric and foundation of the cathedral church, and of

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this there is less to say than of some others. As a secular foundation, it has not gone through such violent changes as those episcopal churches which were served by monks; and though its fabric has been all but wholly rebuilt, yet as the work of rebuilding was the carrying out of a single design, it supplies less of architectural history than those churches whose whole character has been altered over and over again. The church of Exeter also was for many ages disturbed by fewer and less violent disputes than most other churches. On the other hand, in our own day the ecclesiastical history of Exeter has been specially marked, alike in the way of vehement controversies and of more peaceful changes.

The history of the bishopric is divided into two main periods by the changes of the sixteenth century. Those changes greatly altered its position among English sees. In the former period the see of Exeter ranked among the greater bishoprics in point of worldly wealth. The union of the two western sees had made the diocese one of the largest in England, and it was a district where local feelings were specially lively. The Bishop of Exeter, like the Archbishop of York, was the spiritual head of a separate people. Translations from the see of Exeter to any other were rare. And the appointments to it, especially as long as the Chapter kept any freedom of choice, had much of local character. The bishops were commonly natives of the city or diocese or members of the church of Exeter, latterly often connected with the great families of the West. The frightful spoliation of the bishopric under Edward the Sixth gave the later appointments another

character. Exeter had become a bishopric with large duties and small profits, little more than a stepping-stone to richer preferment. And no one was likely to be moved thither from any other see except yet poorer Bristol and Llandaff.

The strictly local bishops begin with the famous Bartholomew of Exeter in the twelfth century. His successor John (1186–1191) had long been præcentor. Henry Marshall (1194–1206) seems to have been a stranger to Exeter, and Simon of Apulia (1208–1223) was a stranger to England. But William Briwere (1224–1244), who fills so great a place in our story, was præcentor. Then follow three bishops who were natives of the city. These were Richard Blondy (1245–1257), who had also been chancellor, Walter Bronescombe (1258–1280), and Peter Quivil (1280–1291), a canon of the church. All these bear a good character as bishops, though they were somewhat lavish in the usual fashion of appropriating parish churches to the chapter or to its several offices and prebends. Under Walter Bronescombe the existing Bishop's register begins, while Peter Quivil has the credit of beginning the fabric of Saint Peter's in its new shape. The next bishop, Thomas Bitton (1292–1307), came from the next diocese, being Dean of Wells, one of a family which just then held most things in that church and gave it one saintly bishop. His successor Walter Stapledon (1307–1326) is the best known name of all, as the minister of Edward the Second who perished at the hands of a London mob. A Devonshire man, he had been præcentor, and we have the record of his election. He was chosen by a large majority over three

other candidates, members of the chapter, the Dean and two others. And his connexion with the city and diocese lived after him in the shape of his foundation at Oxford, Stapledon Hall, afterwards Exeter College, which so long formed a special tie between the University and the two most western shires. But we have now nearly reached the end of local bishops elected by their own canons; the interference of the Popes is beginning. James Berkeley, a canon of the church, unanimously elected in 1326, died within four months after his consecration. But there was time for a man of Cahors who sat at Avignon to meddle in the affairs of Exeter. The King of England wrote letters to Pope John the Twenty-second and the Cardinals, praying that Berkeley's consecration might not be hindered. Consecrated he was by his own metropolitan; but presently came a voice from the Rhone, announcing that the Pope had designed to keep the provision in his own hands, but that he excused the act of the Chapter on account of their ignorance of his purpose, and graciously confirmed their election. The memorable John Grandison (1327–1369) was now directly nominated by papal provision, and consecrated at Avignon by the non-resident Bishop of Rome. Others of the Bishops of Exeter were still eminent men, and all, after Simon of Apulia, were at least Englishmen. But from the time when local men are no longer chosen by local men the succession of bishops loses much of its local interest.

Meanwhile the work of rebuilding the cathedral church went on. Of the present building Peter Quivil may be fairly called the author. Some smaller changes may have been made earlier; but it was in his time that

the step was taken which gave the church of Exeter its marked and unique character. The fabric rolls of 1284 and 1285 record the insertion of large windows in both towers, the northern tower of Saint Paul and the southern tower of Saint John. Whatever the towers had been before, they now became transepts. This ruled the whole plan of the building. If the towers were kept, the church could not follow the ordinary type of an English minster. Western towers might still have been added, which would have given the building an outline like that of some German churches; but the mid tower, the pride of the minsters of England and Normandy, was forbidden. The church, as rebuilt, had to take the shape of a long unbroken body running between the two towers retained from the elder building. The effect within and without is unlike any other great church in the world. None of the foreign examples of towers forming transepts, or standing over transepts, or standing at the end of transepts, have the same air. Even the gigantic choir of Le Mans is much shorter than that of Exeter. At Geneva the towers are little more than side towers to an apse. But English churches, as compared with those of the continent, are commonly long and low, and this of Exeter is yet longer and lower than usual. It had to be low, so as not to dwarf the towers between which it had to run. Moreover the English fashion of a long eastern limb was now well established. The church of Exeter, even though its crossing took another shape from its fellows, must still have a large part of its length east of that crossing. The choir is little shorter than the nave, and choir and Lady chapel together are

longer. The length of the main body, within and without, is unbroken. There is the unbroken ridge-line without, and the unbroken vaulting-line within, approaching to the effect of Bourges. But the extreme eastern part, the Lady chapel, is not, as at York, Lincoln, and Ely, of the full height of the nave and choir. In those churches the Lady chapel was part of a great extension of the building to the east; at Exeter it was an addition to a building which it must have been already intended to destroy. It was therefore naturally lower than the building which afterwards rose to the west of it. As it is, the church of Exeter is a remarkable case of one general design being carried out through more than a hundred years. It was fixed once for all what the new Saint Peter's should be like, and it grew up after one general pattern, but with a certain advance in detail as the work went westward. Bishop Grandison, when the church was about half built, said that, when it was finished, it would surpass in beauty all churches of its own kind (in genere suo) in England and France. Whatever he meant by 'genus suum,' the prediction was safely risked. As far as outline and general effect goes, the church of Exeter forms a class by itself, and can be compared with nothing save its own miniature at Ottery. As far as detail goes, no building of his age shows us the taste of that age in greater perfection.

The style of the church is necessarily that of the latter part of the thirteenth century and the earlier part of the fourteenth. In actual date the western part belongs to the second half of the fourteenth; but as continuing a building already begun, it does not bring in those new forms which we see in con-

temporary work at Winchester and in earlier work at Gloucester. The windows throughout supply excellent studies of the growth of tracery from its earliest fully developed forms. But they all keep within the range supplied by its Geometrical and Flowing varieties, which are mingled even in the great west window without any sign of Perpendicular. The proportions of the building were ruled by the necessity of keeping it low. The designers clearly liked large windows; they would get a taste for them in the single-bodied Lady chapel. But two rows of large windows, in the aisles and in the clerestory, could be had only by keeping the triforium low. The result was a somewhat massive arcade, with a large clerestory well filled in with windows, while the triforium is cut down to a small arcade. The vault is in the best style of the time, the vaulting-shafts rising from rich corbels. The long unbroken line of roof, from west doorway to high altar, unique in England as it is, is clearly the right thing where there is not the real break of a real lantern. The attempt in many French churches to give something of the effect of a crossing where there is no mid-tower is never happy.

After the first step had been taken by the change in the towers, the work went gradually on. As the present choir must be far larger than its Romanesque predecessor, the Lady chapel must for a while have been a distinct building, ready to be joined on whenever the new choir should reach so far east. The walls of the choir were built in the days of the Wells bishop, William Bitton (1292–1307); it was finished in the episcopate of Walter Stapledon (1308–1326), who for

many years made the large yearly gift of 12*l.* to the work, besides help in other ways. The whole fittings and decorations of the choir, with the rood-screen, called the 'pulpit' (ambo), came during this time, and no doubt the vaulting also. John Grandison (1327–1369) found his church half-built. The eastern part was new; the western was still the work of the twelfth century. The really essential part, according to the ideas of those times, the choir, was done already; the rebuilding of the nave to match the new choir might wait awhile. The long episcopate of John Grandison allowed him to wait, to make ready, and to finish. He seemingly made or finished the bishop's throne, the stateliest *cathedra* of its kind in England, which was making in 1328. There is a seeming gap of twenty years between 1332–3, when the Chapter contracts with William Canon, mason, for the making of columns for the nave, and the beginning of the new work before the great cross ('inceptio novi operis ecclesiæ B. Petri coram magna cruce') in 1353. The explanation is that the present nave is four bays longer than the old one; these bays were doubtless built first, leaving the old nave standing till the new part was finished. Then, in 1353, the old work was pulled down, and the mid part of the church put on the likeness of the work east and west of it. Anyhow the nave was built during one episcopate. In 1369 John Grandison dedicated the complete building.

The latest parts of the church are built in essentially the same style as the earlier. The west front, most likely not the last part finished, is the least satisfactory.

There was to be no tower or towers. A single lofty western tower would have produced a singular and striking grouping with the side towers. But, if these last were to be the only towers of the church, the west front should have been made of the natural endings of the nave and aisles left undisguised. Such are the fronts of Winchester and Bath among minsters, and those of the stately parish churches of Yatton, Crewkerne, and Saint Mary's at Beverley. But unluckily there was the common craving for a piece of blank wall, just as at Lincoln, Wells, Salisbury, and Malmesbury. Salisbury, where there are no western towers, can be most easily compared with Exeter, and the design at Exeter was even worse than that at Salisbury. At Salisbury the piece of wall on each side of the gable might be real; it might be, as at Selby, the stumps of destroyed towers. But at Exeter the gable is thrown into insignificance by a battlement carried in front of it, and continued along the *sloping* tops of a piece of wall on each side of it. This, besides the unreality and the ungainly shape, helps to exaggerate the unavoidable effect of width and lowness. The great west window could not have the full height of the eastern windows of Carlisle and Selby, while the Lady chapel hindered any first-rate window at the east end. But the west window, necessarily of disproportionate width, is certainly not improved by the unmeaning pieces of blank wall on each side of it. The screen covered with niches and pierced with doorways was an afterthought, the work of the next episcopate, that of Thomas Brantingham, 1370–1394. Here the new Perpendicular style makes its appearance, and in 1391

tracery of that style was put into the east window of the choir. Later still, under Peter Courtenay (1478–1485) the upper part of the northern tower was ingeniously rebuilt, so as to keep the general Romanesque effect with late details. Save these towers kept from the earlier building, the church of Exeter, in every essential feature, is the continuous work of the days reaching from Peter Quivil to John Grandison.

A secular foundation did not, like a monastery, need a great series of buildings, built according to one traditional plan. A chapter-house was needed; a cloister was a mere convenience. This last, spoken of by John Shillingford as new, seems to have begun under Brantingham and finished under Edmund Stafford (1395–1419). The chapter-house, built under Edmund Lacy (1420–1455), but not vaulted till the days of John Booth (1465–78), must have been still rising in the time of the mighty mayor. Like others of this age, it forsakes the polygonal type and falls back on the earlier rectangle. It cannot be said to form part of the church in the same way as those of York, Wells, and some others. It occupies the monastic position on the east side of the cloister, and is approached from the church only by a narrow passage which has greatly the air of a monastic slype. A secular chapter, while free to adopt any other arrangement of cloister and chapter-house that they liked better, were equally free to adopt the monastic arrangement, if they thought good. And the arrangement at Exeter, as at Salisbury, comes much nearer to the monastic plan than those at Wells and Chichester.

In a secular foundation the dwellings of its members may follow any plan. At Exeter the chief ecclesiastical

dwelling stands in the closest neighbourhood to the church. The bishop's palace—a name as old as 1381 and most likely older—stands on the south side of the choir, into which it has a covered entrance. With its garden, it fills up the whole space between the church and the city wall. The most ancient part remaining is the chapel of the thirteenth century. Adjoining the palace was the bishop's prison for offending and refractory clerks, which seems to have gone out of use in the reign of Elizabeth. The dean and other dignitaries had, and some still have, their several houses within the close; but greater interest attaches to the dwelling-place of their assistants and deputies. The College of Vicars supplanted the ancient almshouse of the bishops. The brothers and sisters of that house bore the name of Kalendars, more famous at Bristol. They were 'fratres civitatis Exon. Kalendarii.' 'Fratres de Kalenda Exoniæ,' 'fratres et sorores de Kalenderheie,' and a religious function of theirs in the church of Saint Mary Major was 'servitium Kalendæ suæ.' Their house bore a name of truly local sound, the Kalendarhay. This foundation, as we have seen, was merged by Bishop Grandison in Saint John's Hospital. In 1388, Bishop Brantingham built college buildings for the Vicars on the site, and in 1401 they were formally incorporated by royal charter. The bishops were their chief benefactors, and an easy mode of providing for them was found in the appropriation of rectories. In one parish, that of Woodbury, the vicars, holding a subordinate position in the cathedral church, had the ordinary jurisdiction, just as the chapter, as a body, had in some churches, and parti-

cular dignitaries and prebendaries in others. There was also another college within the close, that of the chantry priests or 'annivellars.' In 1337 these had reached the number of twenty-six, and they were formed into a college by the will of John Stevens, a canon, about 1460. The close also contained three parish churches, Saint Mary Major, Saint Petrock's, and Saint Martin's; but all dwellings in it belonged either to the bishop, to the chapter or its members, or to the two smaller collegiate bodies, save only the town-house of the Abbots of Buckfastleigh. Laymen might live in the close and practise trades there, but only by the bishop's licence, which was granted as late as 1696.

The close wall built in the time of Edward the First was pierced by seven entrances, one of which, the Broad Gate, leading from the High Street into the ecclesiastical precinct, was a conspicuous object. But, though the churchmen obtained large privileges within their own borders, yet the walls and the care of them belonged wholly to the city. As Bishop Carey asked leave to make a postern of his own to get out into the country, so in 1608 the Archdeacon of Exeter had to ask leave to make a stair in his garden by which he could get on the wall and walk and take the air.

We go back to the series of bishops from which we were called away by the great work begun under Quivil. The bishops of the fifteenth century are mostly men of mark, either by birth or office; some are distinctly eminent statesmen; some have the same local connexion with the city or neighbourhood as the bishops of the

earlier time. Edmund Stafford (1395–1419), born of a great Western house, was Chancellor to both Richard the Second and Henry the Fourth. John Catterick, the King's ambassador at Constance and Florence, was translated from Coventry to succeed him, but he died the same year; he never saw Exeter, and found his tomb among the worthies of Santa Croce at Florence. Both these were papal nominees, though doubtless suggested by the kings whom they served. Edmund Lacy (1419–1455), the 'good blessed man' whom John Shillingford had to withstand, translated from Hereford, was elected by the chapter of Exeter at the King's nomination. Pope Martin did but confirm their act. He was a diligent and bountiful prelate, and a cunning ritualist, whose office of Saint Raphael was adopted in other dioceses.

The next bishop is an example of a purely political appointment. George Neville, born in 1432, 'provided' to the see of Exeter in 1456, consecrated 1458, translated to York in 1465, one of the three Neville brothers, the fellow of Richard Earl of Warwick and John Marquess of Montagu, was seemingly neither better nor worse than they. As Bishop of Exeter, he was Chancellor, first to the Lancastrian and then to the Yorkist king; as Archbishop of York, the wrath of King Edward fell on him; his chancellorship was taken from him, his temporalities were seized, his person imprisoned, and his very mitre taken to make a crown for the King out of its jewels. John Bothe or Booth (1465–1476) was again a statesman bishop, who was very little in his diocese. He came in by papal provision; so did Peter Courtenay (1477–1487), whose name speaks for his connexion with the Western lands, and

who had been parson, archdeacon, and dean in the diocese. Then for five years (1487–1492) Exeter was the first bishopric held by Richard Fox, the veteran statesman of the first two Tudor reigns. He lived to see five bishops in his first seat, and to receive a piece of wise advice from one of them. Oliver King (1492–1495), famous at Bath, hardly saw Exeter. Richard Redmayne (1495–1501) came to Exeter from Saint Asaph, where he had been the rebuilder of his church. His translation to Ely made way for a local prelate of high local reputation, John Arundell (1502–1504), of a great Cornish house and himself Dean of Exeter. Hugh Oldham (1505–1519) of Lancashire birth, but Archdeacon and Canon of Exeter, was a special friend of Bishop Fox, and is said to have warned him, when disposed to found a monastery, that the buzzing monks had already more than they were likely to keep, and recommended rather the foundation of an academical college which would outlive monasteries. Corpus Christi College at Oxford arose on the foundation of Fox, while Oldham carried out his principles by great gifts to his friend's college and by his own foundation of the grammar-school at Manchester.

Oldham did not see the fulfilment of his own words; but Fox, who outlived him nine years, saw its beginning in the suppression of monasteries wrought by Wolsey, and Oldham's successor saw a great deal more. John Voysey, alias Harman, Bishop from 1519 to 1551 and again in 1553–1555, has on the whole perhaps won a worse reputation than he deserved; that is to say, he does not seem to have been worse than most of his contemporaries. He too had held preferment in the

church of Exeter as canon, archdeacon, præcentor, and dean. A native of Sutton Coldfield in the diocese of Coventry, he owed these posts to Bishop Arundell, who brought him with him to Exeter, and to Bishop Oldham, also a native of the great Mercian diocese. His own love for his native place is one of the chief charges against him.

This episcopate at once brings us into the thick of the religious changes of the sixteenth century. To the acts of Henry the Eighth Voysey submitted like other people; we need not think that he was insincere, as we need not think that Cranmer, Bonner, and the mass of Englishmen were insincere, in accepting the supremacy of the King instead of that of the Pope. Only willingness to accept that supremacy implied no wish for change in doctrine or ritual. Moreover the two suppressions of monasteries under Henry in no way touched any foundation of the secular clergy, and the later suppressions of secular foundations, the permissive suppression of colleges under Henry and the absolute suppression of the chantries and the surviving colleges under Edward, in no way touched any cathedral or parochial church, except so far as any part of its revenues came under the head of what in Edward's time were known as 'superstitious uses.' At Exeter the monasteries had already begun to vanish. The priory of Saint James had shared the fate of other alien houses. The Cluniac foundations, from their specially close relation to the one abbey of their order, were looked on as yet more foreign than others. The Exeter house was often seized into the King's hands, and in 1349 it is significantly found in a

state of utter destitution. It fell with other houses of the kind by the act of 1414. In 1448 it was held by virtue of a lease granted by the King's high almoner John Delabere for his own life, after which it was to revert to the crown. Henry the Sixth granted it, subject to the rights of John Delabere and his lessees, to his new foundation of King's College, Cambridge.

The older house of Saint Nicolas, though subordinate to Battle Abbey, remained under the full jurisdiction of the Bishops of Exeter, by whom the Prior was admitted, and whose leave he needed even to visit the parent house at Battle. In 1536 it came under the act for the suppression of the lesser monasteries; the prior William Collumpton gave way quietly and received a pension of 20*l.* yearly. Certain 'women and wives' in the city had more zeal. They came to hinder the suppression by throwing stones at the men who were employed to pull down the roodloft. Two aldermen famous in local history a little later, John Blackaller and William Hurst, had some ado to stop the disorder. The zeal of the wives would not save the house; the monastery was granted to Sir Thomas Dennis; the city, as we have seen, got the stones of the church; what became of the 'Poor men's parlour,' where seven poor men were daily fed in the priory, is not recorded.

Of the two houses of friars, the Franciscans, first founded in the lower part of the city near the Snail tower, being much straitened in their quarters there, were in 1287 moved by Earl Edmund of Cornwall to another site outside the south gate, still known as the Friars. Their first church was standing in 1421, when Archbishop Chichele put forth an excommunication

against certain evil-doers who had broken the stained glass windows and otherwise profaned the building. The Primate claims special veneration for the church on the ground of the many noble persons buried there. This applied yet more strongly to the Dominican church, which was a specially favourite place of burial. In 1301 a strange controversy between the friars and the Chapter of Saint Peter's arose out of this practice. The Chapter claimed that all persons to be buried in the Dominican church should first be brought to Saint Peter's, where mass should be said for their souls. The friars broke through this rule in the case of a certain Sir Henry Raleigh. The canons caused the body to be carried off, and with it a bier and a cloth belonging to the friars. The friars indicted the canons for robbery, but the jury in the Mayor's Court found in favour of the canons. The friars protested against the verdict, refused to receive the body or their own goods, and appealed to the Pope. Sir Henry meanwhile was buried in Saint Peter's, where he has a tomb. Two years later that tomb became a cenotaph by the translation of its inmate to the Dominican church. Both the friaries fell in 1538. The older house of the Franciscans had already in 1507 been granted to the city at a perpetual rent. Their last warden, John Cardmaker, alias Taylor, was the only member of the body who was pleased with a sermon which Hugh Latimer preached in their churchyard in 1535 at the King's bidding. Twenty years later Cardmaker was burned for professing doctrines which neither he nor Henry, nor Latimer, believed then. The Dominican house and church passed to Lord Russell, and supplied him with

the means of building himself a mansion, long known as Bedford House, in the capital of the shire in which the suppression of monasteries made him one of the chief men.

Meanwhile in the cathedral church, the succession of deans is just now of some interest. By this time, though the canons still elected their dean, it is clear that he was commonly chosen under royal influence. Richard Pace, the minister of Henry the Eighth, succeeded Bishop Voysey in the deanery; in 1527 he resigned, and the King's kinsman Reginald Pole, already a canon, succeeded. He is not likely ever to have resided here or at his other deanery of Wimborne. In 1537, his acts beyond sea led to his deprivation by the King's authority only. It will be remembered that the insurgents of 1549 demanded his recall. The actual dean from 1537 to 1552 was a remarkable man named Simon Haynes, who presented a singular proposal to Henry 'for the reformance of the cathedral church of Excestor.' In Henry's day he of course did not propose changes in ritual or doctrine; mass is to be said; only the Creed, the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments, are to be daily expounded in English. Simon Haynes had no mind for spoliation; he would have the church of Exeter keep all its revenues; but it was to change its style. 'The corporation of the church, which was by the name of Saint Peter's church in Excester may be changed, and to be called now the Pastor and Preachers of Christ's Church in Exeter.' The duties of the Pastor, who supplants the Dean, and of the twelve Preachers, who supplant the Canons, and of some other ministers, are

laid down with curious minuteness. A grammar-school is to be founded, exhibitioners are to be sent to the Universities, impotent men are to be relieved; but preaching in the city and diocese is to be the main business of the reformed foundation. The scheme never took effect; Henry could destroy and he could found, according to the whim of the moment; but he had no mind for patching and tinkering like this. The Dean and Chapter lived on, as did the College of Vicars; only the act for the suppression of chantries deprived both bodies of such part of their income as was given for the maintenance of obits and such like uses. The college of Annivellars, whose duties lay wholly in that line, was altogether suppressed. Bishop Voysey lived on, seemingly in favour with Henry; but, as soon as Edward came to the crown, the courtiers, Lord Russell, Sir Thomas Dennis, and the rest, frightened him into the gradual surrender of the chief possessions of the see. He clearly had no love for the 'King's proceedings,' and needed letters from the Council to quicken him. But he must have outwardly conformed like other people, like some bishops who in Mary's day had a hand in burning their fellow-reformers. In 1550 he resigned to order; 'pro corporis metu,' it was afterwards officially said. Yet he went off to Sutton Coldfield with the large pension of 485*l.* 9*s.* 3*d.*, which he spent in munificent works of all kinds there. Miles Coverdale, who had come to preach loyalty in 1549, was put in his place. The church of Exeter had now for the first time a married bishop. Coverdale bears a good character, as in other points, so for hospitality and bounty as far as the small revenues of the plundered bishopric allowed. In

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1553 the accession of Mary restored Voysey to the bishopric and Pole to the deanery. But the aged bishop—101 years old, some say—preferred Sutton Coldfield to Exeter, and there died in 1555.

Meanwhile Exeter, like other places, had its taste of another form of 'the King's proceedings.' In the time of Edward came the general raid on the plate and ornaments of the parish churches. This was done at Exeter by a royal commission, addressed, among others, to Bishop Coverdale and to the Mayor, William Hurst, whose leanings were certainly the other way. But the city, it will be remembered, had already had its own proceedings in this matter; so the commissioners prayed that the spoil already taken for the works at the haven might be allowed. Somewhat later, things took another turn. On the death of Voysey James Turbeville (1556–59) followed as Bishop. He obtained the restitution of some part of the lost revenues of the see, and he bears a generally good character, even from the other side. Some charge him, some his Chancellor, with the only victim whom the diocese supplied to the fires of Mary's reign. This was Agnes Priest, a Cornishwoman, burned in 1557 on Southernhay. 'Her husband and children were her greater persecutors, from whom she fled, for that they would force her to be present at mass.' A touching saying is added, that 'after her condemnation she refused to receive any money from well-affected persons, telling them that she was going to a city where money had no mastery.' Some who fancy that burning was an end exclusively reserved for martyrs may be surprised to read that fourteen years later the same place saw the burning of another Agnes,

the wife of John Jones, for the crime of petty treason in poisoning her husband.

After the accession of Elizabeth burnings for religion became rare, and none are recorded at Exeter. The royal supremacy and the English prayer-book came back. Bishop Turbeville lost his bishopric. Under his successor, William Alley or Allen (1559-1570), the 'reformed religion,' as 'the King's (or Queen's) proceedings' had come to be known in 1580, took root. No great names followed among the bishops till that of Joseph Hall. William Bradbridge (1571–1578), John Woolton (1578–1594), Gervase Babington (1594–1597), William Cotton (1598–1621), Valentine Cary (1621–1626), are not specially memorable, even on the spot. We now get another instance of the rule that changes were slower at Exeter than in other places. The establishment of the fully developed residentiary system in the chapter came only in Elizabeth's reign. Till then there was no fixed number of residentiaries. Every canon had a contingent right to the profits of residence, that is to a share in the divisible income of the church after the prebendal stipends and all other outgoings had been paid. But he could claim them only by complying with somewhat burthensome conditions. There must be a canonical house ready for him. He must have, from some source or other, a net yearly income of 40*l*., and he must spend that sum on the day on which he began residence, in payments, partly to the vicars and other officers, partly to the common fund. Then he must keep (by a statute of Bishop Grandison) 46 days (lessened by Voysey to 36) of the strictest residence, at once

keeping open house and most diligently attending on divine service. Many canons doubtless could not, and others would not, carry out these conditions. If so, they received only their prebendal stipend of six marks, and their share in the daily distribution for each day that they were there to claim it. But if all twenty-four did carry them out in any year, all twenty-four would be entitled to a share—however diminished—in the profits of residence. A statute made in Bishop Alley's visitation of the Chapter in 1560, in consideration of the lessened revenues of the church, appointed a fixed number of nine residentiaries. In selecting them from among the canons, the four dignitaries, Dean, Præcentor, Chancellor, and Treasurer, were to be preferred. This was confirmed by a statute of Bishop Seth Ward in 1663, by which the ancient prebendal stipend of six marks was raised to 20*l.* Thus the church of Exeter took the shape which it kept down to the last changes. There, as elsewhere, the establishment of a fixed number of residentiaries led to the notion that the residentiaries alone formed the Chapter, and to the practical shutting out of the majority of the canons from any share in the management of their own church.

The reign of Elizabeth was on the whole a time of restitution for the canons and vicars, a time of further spoliation for the bishopric. Bishop Woolton, a former canon of the church, procured from the Queen a charter restoring to the Chapter of Exeter all the property which they had lost under the law of superstitious uses. They were no longer to observe obits, and they were to pay a rent of 145*l.* yearly to the Crown. Other charters

confirmed Saint Sidwell's fee to the Chapter, and a large restitution was also made to the Vicars for the small rent of fourpence. On the other hand, the episcopate of Gervase Babington was marked by the final loss of the great manor of Crediton, the old home of the see, more than once lost and won back already. Now how did this record of change backwards and forwards, out of which came the later shape of the Church of England, affect the general state of the city of Exeter? On this point let us hear one who lived through all changes, and who heartily approved of the result. John Hoker's 'pamphlet on the offices and duties of every particular sworn officer of the City of Excester' is prefaced by the Epistle Dedicatory addressed to all those of whose duties he is treating. He there sets forth the sins of the men of Exeter in his day, and sternly rebukes them by the example of many more ancient cities. One is reminded of the picture of the Romans of Aquitaine and Africa in the days of Salvianus. And the rebuke is in each case called forth by much the same cause. A religious change had not brought with it all the moral improvement which it should have done. 'Preposterous,' says the earliest Chamberlain of Exeter, 'is the judgement of those who would have that religion should pertain only to the bishops and the clergy, and the civil magistrate should deal only in matters of policy.' 'This ingrateful city of Exeter' had many privileges. It was 'very ancient, and was builded at the first coming of Brutus into this land, about two thousand five hundred years past; the Gospel was truly preached and the sacraments sincerely ministered;' it was pleasantly seated and stood upon the top of a

hill, in the open prospect of the world, and near the seas; 'it was rich and inhabited with rich merchants and occupiers.' Yet for all this the city was but a sour grape, a wild olive, liable to the punishments which had fallen on Tyre, Nineveh, Capernaum, and other cities of equal wickedness. The climax of its offences shows that the Mayor of the bull-ring had no sinecure.

> Be the preachers never so godly, and earnest to call, let all the great bells of St. Peter's ring out never so loud, there will not be half so many gained into the church as one with a pipe and a whistle shall gain into the streets to see vain and foolish spectacles. For let there be a bear-baiting, a bull-baiting, an enterlude, or any such vanity, every man is in haste to run headlong to it, and the time never too long to have their fill thereof. And yet if there be no such plays or games, they will rather sit idle in the streets than be well occupied in the churches.

We have seen that in the early part of the seventeenth century the old foundation of Saint John's Hospital had risen again. Its chapel was consecrated in 1639 by the famous Bishop Joseph Hall (1627–1641). He also recovered another old ecclesiastical site, when in 1637 he relieved Saint Peter's churchyard, hitherto the only burying-ground in the city, by consecrating another God's acre in the old Franciscan ground of Friernhay. He also rescued the cloister-garth from being used as a kitchen-garden, and made that the burying-ground of the close. In all this we see the ecclesiastical revival of the time of Charles and Laud. Hall was translated to Norwich just as the troubles began, and his successor Ralph Brownrigg (1641–1659) never came to Exeter at all. In the times that followed Exeter fared like other

places, but it is a mere legendary belief that the capitulation of 1646 was scandalously broken and that some specially frightful desecration of Saint Peter's and other churches followed on the entrance of Fairfax. Now the account in *Mercurius Rusticus* which has given vogue to the common story is wholly untrue; it has gained belief through the common process of attributing to a single day in the year 1646 all the mischief that was done between that year and 1660, and perhaps some earlier and later mischief also. Some fanatic soldier may indeed, according to the story, have broken off the head of Queen Edith, mistaking her for our Lady. But no general mutilation or desecration took place at this time. And at Exeter one form of mutilation, which specially affected the west front, was not the work of enemies but of devotees. For ages the country-folk who came into the city loved to carry home a 'Peter stone' for the healing of their ailments. Still a good deal of mischief was done between 1642 and 1660, though certainly much less than had been done in the changes a hundred years earlier. And as far as buildings are concerned, the worst doings come, not in the time of the civil war, but in the later days of the Protectorate. At Exeter, as elsewhere, the existing ecclesiastical system and worship came to an end. Bishop, Dean, Canons, were no longer acknowledged, and the newer services of the English Church were forbidden, as the elder ones had been a hundred years before. In 1647 the city bought, first the Vicars' hall and then the palace itself, and made use of them as storehouses. But the Chamber failed to obtain the lands of the Chapter, and the new ministers had to be

maintained by a rate, which naturally became unpopular. By 1651 strict Puritan discipline was enforced; there was much ado to stop swearing and drinking and breaches of the 'sabbath,' and the witches gave more trouble still. In that year the palace was sold to the governors of Saint John's Hospital, and the next year the Treasurer's house adjoining the north tower of Saint Peter's was bought to make a workhouse and house of correction.

In 1656 a sweeping revolution was planned and partly carried out. An Act of Parliament was obtained 'for the promoting and more frequent preaching the Gospel and maintenance of ministers in the city of Exeter and uniting of parishes and parish churches.' By this the nineteen parish churches left in the thirteenth century were cut down to four, Saint Mary Arches, Saint Edmund's, Saint Petrock's and 'Saint Mary the Moor.' The other churches were to be sold. Some were bought by the parishioners, perhaps looking for better times; others went to Saint John's Hospital in payment of the debt due from the city. There was talk of enlarging some of the churches that were spared; but nothing was done in that way. At last the building which was now formally called 'the late cathedral church' was divided by a brick wall into two places of worship, known as East Peter's and West Peter's. To divide a church into two, between a convent or college and a parish, was a common process, and sometimes the barrier between the two churches under one roof was as thorough and solid as the barrier between East and West Peter's. The thing which was new in England, though it was common in Germany, was

the dividing the church between worshippers of different religious persuasions. East Peter's was assigned to Independents, and West Peter's to Presbyterians. This last was the religion of the Chamber, and doubtless of the city in general. All those would conform to it who had no taste for irregular fanaticism, but who did not feel (as some did) called to run the risk of attending the forbidden Episcopal worship. East Peter's became the spiritual home of the military saints and of such citizens as were drawn to their fellowship. Of this temple of his immediate brethren the Lord Protector wished for the advowson; but the Chamber stood firm, and kept the nomination to Independent East Peter's as well as to Presbyterian West.

Meanwhile the Lady chapel, not a convenient preaching-place, became a library in 1657, and remained such till 1820. The organ had at some earlier time been taken out of the church, and stowed away in the cloister as useless lumber. It was now broken up; the useless cloister was pulled down, and a serge-market built on its site. This is the only piece of sheer destruction recorded in these times, a small matter beside the sweeping away of all the monastic churches at the earlier time of havoc. At Exeter as elsewhere, the sixteenth century was far more destructive than the seventeenth. Of the two men, Thomas and Oliver, out of whom the Cromwell of legend has grown, neither personally touched Exeter; but the time represented by Thomas swept away far more than the time represented by Oliver.

The changes decreed in 1656 had not been fully

carried out when the reaction came in 1660. The King enjoyed his own again; so did Bishops, Canons, Vicars, so many as had lived through the storm. At Exeter the Restoration period saw the episcopal chair filled by men of some mark. We cannot say much for John Gauden (1660–1662), whether he really wrote *Eikôn Basilike* or not; but Seth Ward the astronomer (1662–1667), and Anthony Sparrow the ritualist (1667–1676), were both of them men to be remembered. Ward's career at Exeter is a marked one. Installed as præcentor in 1660, by virtue of a nomination made long before by Bishop Brownrigg, he was elected dean the next year under a royal recommendation, and it was mainly by his energy that Saint Peter's was restored after its degradation. The wall of partition was taken away, though it may perhaps be a survival of its presence, that the nave of Exeter, unlike other cathedral naves, was so long crowded with square pews. The next year he became bishop: besides his dealings with the chapter, he consecrated in 1664 another burying-ground in Southernhay, and as the poverty of the bishopric made the holding of some other preferment almost unavoidable, he procured the deanery of the collegiate church of Saint Burian in Cornwall, which had survived when the other prebends had been suppressed or had died out, to be annexed to the see. All these bishops were translated, Gauden to Worcester, Ward to Salisbury, Sparrow to Norwich. The flight of the next bishop Thomas Lamplugh (1676–1688) at the coming of the Prince of Orange was rewarded by translation to York, and Sir Jonathan Trelawney (1689–1707), the comrade of Sancroft and Ken in their resistance to James but

not in their refusal of the oaths to William and Mary, made Exeter a path from yet poorer Bristol to wealthier Winchester. His episcopate carries us into a later period; but, as an actor in the great story which ended our general chapter, his name may well end the series of prelates with whom we are so far concerned.

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CHAPTER VII.

MODERN EXETER.

A.D. 1688-1886.

Exeter in the eighteenth century—Destruction of monuments—Improvements — Water-pipes — The canal — The Workhouse—Bishop Blackall and the Schools—The County Hospital—Destruction of houses—of the North Gate—of the Carfax—New road to the Castle—The new Bridge—Destruction of Bedford House—of the Castle Chapel—of the East Gate—The new County Gaol—Final destruction of Gates—The City Gaol—The Markets—Eighteenth century elections—Disturbances at the accession of George the First—Jacobite riot in 1754—Cider and other riots—Charter of George the Third—Visit of George the Third—Volunteering—Riot in 1800—Later events—Reform of the municipal constitution—Charitable foundations—Effects of the Parliamentary Reform Acts—Later Bishops—George Lavington—Henry Phillpotts—Frederick Temple—Division of the diocese—Capitular history—Litigation about the deanery—Destruction and restoration of churches.

THE last great event which directly connects the local history of Exeter with the general history of England was the entry of William of Orange. The cycle had come round; the eastern and the western gate had alike received its William, each alike, Conqueror and Deliverer, a worker in the long chain of events which were to make deliverers no longer hoped for because conquerors were no longer to be feared. No such events as the coming of either William have marked

the last hundred and eighty years of the history of the city; none such in truth have marked the history of the kingdom. And in those events in the history of the kingdom which come nearest to them in scale Exeter has had no share. Foremost in every civil war during two long periods of national history, Exeter kept her intervening sabbath at an earlier time; and now such another sabbath came again. As the civil war of the thirteenth century had not touched her, so neither did the fainter approach to civil war in the eighteenth. Hitherto herself a chief goal of every pretender to the crown, the fate of later Pretenders was settled far away from her walls. A political riot or two, a scuffle now and then between soldiers and citizens, is all the fighting that has to be recorded. Since Maurice, Fairfax, and William, Exeter has not needed to open her gates either to an enemy or to an armed friend.

This changed state of things is in truth symbolized by the fact that this last period has left the city without any gates to open or shut. That is to say, at Exeter, as at other places, practical improvements have been made; but, in an age which cared little for antiquity, they were often made with reckless disregard of the past. Much of the ancient aspect of the city has been lost; many of its surviving monuments have been destroyed, which might easily have been kept. As York contrives to exist as a modern city without the utter sweeping away of its bars, Exeter might surely have contrived to exist also. And in a city of this class the destruction of ancient monuments has not, as in those towns whose chief greatness is modern, been counterbalanced by the erection of modern buildings on any

great scale. The minster, the castle, the guildhall, are still the main buildings of Exeter; they have simply lost some of their smaller fellows. On the whole, the city still keeps its ancient aspect; its suburbs have greatly spread, but old Isca was far too thoroughly the city set on an hill to be ever swallowed up by them. The physical features remain much the same, save where the bold modern causeway spans the natural ditch on the north side. The walls for the most part remain, and in many parts they are visible and prominent. Within the walls the main lines are untouched. The steps which give their name to one church of Saint Mary have been spared; and, if many ancient houses have perished, some still abide. Altogether the Exeter of the nineteenth century keeps the personality of the Exeter of the thirteenth better than many other cities. There have been changes in detail, changes to be lamented; but the ancient substance abides.

The reigns of William the Third and Anne saw several works at Exeter which directly tended to the health and good order of the city. Fifty years earlier one who 'for love of that city forbore to say more,' one of its canons, Kellett by name, ventured to say as much as this, 'that whereas the city of Exeter is by its natural situation one of the sweetest cities of England, yet by the ill use of many, is one of the nastiest and noisomest cities of the land.' In 1635 an attempt had been made to carry the water of the Exe into the city; in 1695 the work was carried out in a manner of which men were proud at the time, but which afterwards came to be despised. The water

was taken in wooden pipes to every house whose occupier chose to pay for it at a 'reasonable rate.' A few years later, in 1698, the Chamber had again to grapple with a question of water on a greater scale, with the navigation of the canal between Exeter and Topsham. The trade of the city had grown again since the Revolution; foreign merchants settled in Exeter; woollen goods were again carried eastward and westward. Something had been done in 1675; a more vigorous attempt was made now. There was much opposition, and an Act of Parliament could not be got; still by 1728 the canal had been made passable, though only for small vessels. Other changes took place about the same time. In 1696, as part of the general reform of the coinage, Exeter was one of the places where mints were set up. The Exeter money is known by the letter E immediately under the King's bust. In 1697 an Act of Parliament was obtained 'for the building of a workhouse within this city and county of Exon for the relief and maintenance of the poor and indigent.' The creation of such an institution was then looked on as a charitable deed, and various benefactions were given 'towards the better support and continuance of that great work.' The workhouse was put under the care of a special body, who forestalled the later name of Guardians of the Poor—consisting of the Mayor, Recorder, Aldermen, and forty elective members, with power to levy rates.

The episcopate of Trelawney's successor, Offspring Blackall (1708–1716), was famous in local history for the beginning of the charity schools of the city. Soon after his coming, he preached a sermon, which, if it be

printed in full by Izacke, was remarkably short, but which had none the less effect. The next day gifts began to come in, and four schools, two for boys and two for girls, arose. These were schools of the same kind as the National and British schools of later times. They represent the principle of voluntary gifts, as distinguished both from the older type of foundation schools, and from the modern Board School, with its compulsory rate.

In 1741 the same principle was applied to another great work of benevolence in its more modern shape, that of the Devon and County Hospital. That word is now becoming narrowed to its later meaning of *infirmary*. The new institution is specially connected with the name of the then Dean, Dr. Alured Clarke, 'the friend of mankind,' who had already, when a prebendary of Winchester, brought about the establishment of a like institution there. The new hospital grew and flourished, and the healing art took firm root in Exeter, to the profit alike of its professors and of their patients. While these new undertakings rested on the modern method of subscriptions, the older institutions lived and grew; both in 1763 and in 1772 the Chamber built new almshouses out of the property which the city held for charitable uses.

All these institutions, excellent in their practical use, in no way interfered with the monuments of earlier times. But in the year 1768 a spirit of 'improvement' came upon the city, and specially on Mr. W. M. Praed, a proprietor within it, and now ancient monuments fell fast. The fine old houses in the High Street and elsewhere began to give way to

'houses in a more modern style.' Next the public buildings, secular and ecclesiastical, began to vanish. The tower of Saint Mary Major was improved by losing forty feet of its height, which loss was supplied by a cupola in the style of 1768. The next year the great havoc of all began in the destruction of the gates. The North gate was the first to be swept away. The havoc of 1770 was greater still. The ancient conduit at the Carfax was now judged to be a nuisance as narrowing the thoroughfare, and was pulled down. More respect was shown to the ancient gateway of Rougemont. A new road, seemingly much needed, was made from the High Street to the Castle; a new entrance was made, but happily without destroying the old one. Men went in and out by the new gateway beside it, built of the stones of the foundation of the ancient drawbridge. In the course of the diggings Roman coins were found, spread over nearly the whole of the Roman life of Isca, coins of Nero, Allectus, and Constantine. In the same year the new bridge over the Exe was begun. Since the thirteenth century the bridge had led to the West gate, but the West gate did not immediately lead to the western arm of the cross. A sharp turn to the left was needed. The old bridge, a structure of many pointed arches, was now disused as the main approach and partly destroyed, but some of its arches still remained. Its successor, starting at a rather sharp angle from the Ickneld way, spanned the river with three arches at a narrower point than the old bridge, and landed the traveller on Exe Island. Thence a new street, Bridge Street, led straight to the west arm of the crossing, which has latterly borne the

name of *Fore* Street, perhaps from *Foure* Street Hill, the immediate ascent to the Carfax. But the work was a slow one. The beginning made in 1770 was not successful; everything had to begin again in 1776, and the work was not finished till 1778.

Another piece of destruction marks a change in the habits of the times. We have seen that the Earls of Bedford had a house, Bedford House, to be their dwelling, when it suited them to tarry within the walls of the local capital. We have seen earlier nobles and other leading men occupying houses in Exeter, and we have seen Bedford House lived in by greater personages still. In 1773 its now ducal lords had long forsaken it, and it was let to various tenants. It was now taken down; the site was let on a building lease, and a row of houses called Bedford Circus took its place. This marks a stage in the history of the city. Exeter, no longer inhabited by earls, was beginning, though not a watering-place, to put on some of the features of a watering-place. Houses like those of Bedford Circus and of Southernhay mark the growth of a class of inhabitants quite unlike the ancient dwellers either in the castle, in the close, or in the High Street.

The year after the fall of Bedford House the powers of destruction made their way within the fortress of Rougemont. In 1770 the gateway had been spared, even if it had been coupled with an unworthy yoke-fellow. In 1774 no mercy was shown within the gate. The collegiate chapel was swept away; so was the 'castellan's house,' whatever that may have been like; and 'those venerable remains of ancient fortifications,

the donjon, sallyport, with its covered way, and square tower (in which was a lofty gateway walled up) were at this time taken down, greatly regretted by the antiquarians.' The excuse for all this havoc was the making of new courts for the Devonshire assizes, held in the castle, as within the county of Devon. The old courts are said to have been 'very inconvenient, and greatly beneath the dignity of the large and opulent county of Devon.' But they could hardly have been more hideous than the thing which took their place in the reforming year 1784.

Ten years later the Eastern gate, with its two mighty flanking towers soaring over the picturesque house on each side, with its wide and lofty Tudor arch spanning the road, its statue of Henry the Seventh, commemorating its rebuilding after the siege by Perkin Warbeck—the gate which was heir to that through which the Conqueror made his way—all perished—to the great satisfaction of the Exeter of that day; for 'a beautiful vista was opened from Saint Sidwell's into the High Street, a very great and necessary improvement.'

In 1790 however a real improvement was made, which did not involve the destruction of anything. Up to this time the state of the gaols both of Devonshire and of Exeter had been frightful. Long before Howard's day complaints had been made; we have seen how in 1585 the diseased prisoners avenged themselves on judges, jury, magistrates, and spectators. In 1787 an act of Parliament was obtained for making a new county gaol for Devonshire, and in 1790 the work was completed. Instead of the old prison in the castle, a

new one, with the improvements of the day, arose on a healthy site to the north of the city, near the Danes' Castle. Two years later cavalry barracks arose outside the city; if neither gaol nor barrack was beautiful in itself, at least nothing better was sacrificed to them.

In 1801 a zealous Mayor, Thomas Flood, made himself a name by cleansing the streets, and by enforcing the law against fraudulent dealers in coal and bread. A wealth of fines came in to the city, which was laid out, partly in bread for the poor, partly for the benefit of the Hospital. But destruction went on. In 1803 perished the Romanesque building in Waterbury Street. In 1815 the West gate followed, and with it the smaller Quay gate, the most ancient of all. In 1819 it was followed by the South gate, the finest of all, a stately pile with two vast flanking towers. The gates of Exeter, successors of those reared in the days of Æthelstan and of Claudius, were now wholly swept away. With the South gate perished the city gaol, branded long before by Howard as one of the very worst in England. It had often been presented by Grand Juries as a public nuisance. Local historians protest against it, and all will share in the honest delight of Dr. Oliver at the sweeping away of such a disgrace to a civilized city. Yet surely the gaol might have been cleared out and a new one made without destroying the ancient and stately gateway.

Next to the gaols the chief evil was the markets which crowded and disfigured the streets. As early as 1691 the cattle and pigs had been banished from the High Street; but in the lesser streets the market, pigs and all, went on, a 'sad nuisance,' and the lower

part of High Street itself was still encumbered with the sale of goods and provisions. In 1836 market-houses were built in the island, and Dr. Oliver records with some glee that, in digging the foundations, a coin of Nero was found, representing a building very like the one which was making.

But besides public monuments destroyed by public authority, another class of antiquities was then and still is in greater danger than any other. The smaller remains of ancient domestic art, the ancient houses for which no one seems to care, perish daily and perish unrecorded. So too many of the fragments of the religious houses which had passed into private hands were swept away, though some excellent portions both of Romanesque and of very late date are still left at Saint Nicolas.

While all these changes, good and bad, were made, Exeter still had its history as a commonwealth, and its connexion with the general history of the country, though not on the same scale as in earlier times.

Through the eighteenth century politics ran high in Exeter, and as the Parliamentary representatives of the city were chosen by a popular franchise, political differences had good opportunities for showing themselves. Both the Exeter and the Devonshire elections, the latter being held in the castle, were long famous for their pomp and circumstance. Troops of horsemen, trumpets, tabards, much of the show of a literal campaign, are not yet out of mind. And a campaign it sometimes really became. The Exeter elections, as wherever there was any popular choice, supply a lesson

in national history. We still mark, as in the Conqueror's days, the abiding difference in feeling between the great men of the city and the mass of the people. In the former part of the last century, an Exeter mob, like many other mobs, was inclined to be Tory and High Church, doubtless because the powers that were took the other side. In 1714 the proclamation and coronation of George the First were welcomed with great rejoicings by those in authority. The next year, on the attainder and flight of the Duke of Ormond, High Steward of the city, no less a person than George Prince of Wales was chosen in his place, and the patent was presented to him by a native of the city, Chief Justice King, afterwards Lord Chancellor. The new High Steward, as Duke of Cornwall, was lord of Rougemont, successor of the august Richard whom the Exeter of his day would hardly have thought of clothing with municipal office. Moreover several hundred chief merchants and others formed themselves into an association for King George, by the name of the Constitutional Society. On the other hand, we are somewhat mysteriously told that, at King George's coronation, while in Bristol and other places the rejoicings were disturbed by 'rioters breaking windows and pulling down some Dissenting meeting-houses,' at Exeter only 'symptoms of the like kind appeared,' which were put down by the 'timely interference of the magistrates.' But at the election which followed there was 'great tumult and acrimony,' in which 'much blood was spilt from the broken heads and noses of the contending mobs.' Success was with the 'Blue,' 'High Church,' or 'Country' party, against the 'Low

Church' or 'Court' party. And it is hinted that the formation of the Constitutional Society hindered something greater than election riots; it 'quelled the intended insurrection in the West.' At every election party feeling ran to 'great lengths;' the stirs of 1745 led to fresh associations for the existing government, and so successful were they that George the Second, 'in return for the loyalty of the citizens of Exeter, was graciously pleased to send them a letter of thanks, couched in the warmest terms.'

Two civil wars had thus passed over Great Britain without Exeter seeing anything more serious than the broken heads and bloody noses of an election riot. These last were doubtless plentiful at the election of 1754, when 'the contest ran very high.' One of the members in the last Parliament, Humphrey Sydenham, had supported the bill for the naturalization of the Jews. That was then an unpopular measure. The cry of 'No Jews' went along with 'Give us our eleven days.' Mr. Sydenham lost his seat, and the members elected were his former colleague John Tuckfield and John Rolle Walter.[1] In the course of the same year Exeter Jacobitism showed itself more openly than it had done when swords were drawn in the land. On the 10th of June, the Pretender's birthday, white roses were openly worn, and the sign of an inn was adorned with them. The soldiers of King George quartered in Exeter pulled down the rebel badges; a riot followed,

[1] Is this a double surname or a double Christian name? There had already been one very singular double Christian name among the representatives of Exeter, Sir Copleston-Warwick Bampfylde, elected in 1710.

in which many were seriously hurt, while others were carried off to prison; specially 'one Mark Farley, for printing a seditious song, was imprisoned in South-gate, where he *was confined for many years*.' Remembering what the gaol in South-gate was, even a staunch Hanoverian might think his doom a hard one.

Under the first two Georges the city authorities mainly belonged to the Whig or 'Court party,' while the Tory or 'Country party'—the name had changed its meaning since Charles the Second's days—was popular among the citizens at large. The bishops and deans too of those reigns were doubtless Whigs, whatever the clergy in general might be. When the foreign reigns were over, and there was again a king who gloried in the name of Briton, a change came. At the election of 1760 the anti-Semitic members, Tuckfield and Walter, were opposed by Mr. Praed and Sir Thomas Sewell. 'The two first were supported by *both the Chamber and the Church*, and the High Church or Country party; the others *by the merchants in general*, by the Dissenters, and those who were called the Low Church.' The fighting was fiercer than ever; the party mobs of each side drew allies from outside, the High Church calling in workmen and labourers from the country, and the Low Church bringing in the crews of several ships. With such helpers the Low Church had the better in the battle; but when it was agreed on both sides to begin the poll again quietly, Tuckfield and Walter were returned by a large majority. Our local record tells us little more till 1790, when we hear, not of open fighting, but of 'the pernicious practice of *quilling*,' a local name for treating, which went on for

several months before the election, and led to an unsuccessful petition against the return.

Riots were not confined to election times. The cider-tax in 1763 was met by the cry 'Excise, the first fruits of Peace,' and on the day of thanksgiving for the peace the Mayor had to go alone to Saint Peter's, without any of his brethren. Two years later Bishop Keppel, who had voted for the tax, coming to take possession of his see, was hooted amd insulted, 'and one fellow had the assurance to throw an apple at his head.' So in 1769 the Duke of Bedford, Lord-Lieutenant both of Devonshire and of Exeter, was hunted through the city to the peril of his life, because he 'had made himself obnoxious to the people by consenting, as reported, to a secret article in the late treaty of peace, by which the French were allowed to import their silk and other manufactures into this kingdom.' Perhaps it is not wonderful that Bedford House soon afterwards changed into Bedford Circus.

The next year, 1770, the charter of Charles the First was confirmed by George the Third. No change was made in the constitution of the city; the object of the new charter was to increase the number of magistrates. All the aldermen were now to be *ex officio* justices of the peace and of gaol delivery.

In 1779 Exeter, for the first time for some ages, felt a fear of hostile foreign invasion. The foreign soldiers both of 1549 and of 1688 were held to have come on an errand of deliverance. It was coming back to the days of the Danes when the fleets of France and Spain were seen off Plymouth. All troops in Exeter and the neighbourhood marched to the coast; prisoners of

war were brought from Plymouth to Exeter; the citizens formed themselves into a regiment to watch over them, and received a letter of thanks from the King. Some of them, in the shape of bodies of volunteers enrolled by royal licence, continued their military exercises till the end of the war.

In 1788 the city, which had not seen a reigning king since Charles the Second, was promoted from receiving letters from King George to the honour of his personal presence. The King and Queen, with three of their daughters, came and stayed three nights in Exeter, amidst great rejoicings. But their coming caused a serious disagreement between the ecclesiastical and the municipal powers, described by a sarcastic contemporary as a quarrel between 'Church and State.' The Mayor and Chamber had made the Guildhall ready for a repast, including '500*l.* worth of jellies and custards,' at which they looked for the royal guests. Dean Buller, who received their Majesties and Royal Highnesses at the deanery, looked on them as his guests and not the guests of the city, and 'endeavoured to conceal from the King the public aspirations.' Alderman Dennis made his way into Saint Peter's, where the King was, and insisted on speaking to his Majesty. The Dean told the Alderman 'that he had no right to be in the church after church hours,' and, after much disputing, the civic dignitary was turned out. In the end the King and Queen did not go to the Guildhall; a more courtly account, which says nothing of the dispute, adds, 'it being contrary to etiquette, and to prevent giving umbrage to the other cities and towns he had passed through.' Yet the King held a *levée* at

the palace, where the Mayor (Jonathan Burnet), the Recorder (Stephen Hawtrey), and the Aldermen, were presented, and the Mayor declined knighthood.

George the Third was the last sovereign of England who slept in Exeter. Her present Majesty passed through the city in 1856, and was loyally received. A local book gives a gushing account of other 'royal visits,' 'visits from royalty;' but they all turn out to be visits of subjects, among them to be sure two from the lord of Rougemont, the present Duke of Cornwall and Prince of Wales.

During the great war with France the zeal of Exeter was shown in the shape of volunteering, both horse and foot, on a larger scale than during the American war. Still there were disturbances now and then. In 1795 a riot outside the city against millers who were suspected of *engrossing* was made memorable by the unusual way in which an alleged ringleader was put to death. 'The execution was conducted in a manner hitherto unknown in this city, being entirely military, and entrusted to the care of Major Shadwell, of the 25th regiment of light dragoons.' The condemned man, Campion by name, was taken to Heavitree in a mourning coach, with every military precaution both to hinder a rescue and to secure the city and neighbourhood. The next year, 1796, the citizens suffered a good deal from a military mutiny in which they had no kind of interest. A newly levied Irish regiment, the Londonderry Fencibles, were at Exeter. Orders being issued to draught them into other regiments, they murmured, saying that they were engaged to serve only in their own regiment, and under their own officers. According to the local

historian, they were attacked by the light dragoons under Major Shadwell with needless violence, and were chased into the castle in a fashion which Exeter could hardly have seen since the days of Perkin Warbeck. Peaceable persons are said to have been insulted and ridden over. 'During the time this scene lasted, the whole city was in a state of confusion, and exhibited a melancholy idea of a military government.'

The last year of the century saw a more distinctly civil riot, caused by the high price of provisions. A great fire also in Saint Sidwell's the year before had brought many families to great distress. No actual violence is mentioned, but the discontented took the remarkable step of going round to the neighbouring landowners and farmers, making them sign contracts to sell provisions at lower prices. This time the magistrates were able to restore order by the help of special constables, without light dragoons. And means were taken to relieve distress by subscriptions and government bounties, by selling bread at a low rate, and also by a large importation of fish, seemingly both salt and fresh. So ends the eighteenth century in Exeter, winding up its continuous recorded history as an English city during more than nine hundred years.

A few special events of yet later times, both municipal and ecclesiastical, may be mentioned. The municipal and the capitular corporations and the body of parliamentary electors have all undergone changes. But it marks the difference between earlier and later times, that, while anciently changes in the constitution of such

bodies were commonly made by some process affecting the particular body only, they are now commonly made by Acts of Parliament affecting the whole kingdom. Instead of pieces of purely local history, they are parts of the general history of the country. Exeter, like other places, has been affected by the Municipal Reform Act of 1836, by the Ecclesiastical Duties and Revenues Act of 1840, and by the Parliamentary Reform Acts of 1832, 1867, and 1885. The Report of the Commissioners on Municipal Corporations in 1835 is less severe on the Exeter oligarchy than on some others. They report that 'the corporation of Exeter being self-elected, and conducting their affairs in private meetings, have not gained the confidence of the inhabitants.' They are not accused of direct corruption in any shape; but, through lack of 'prudence or discretion,' they had got frightfully into debt. The general accounts of the city and the accounts of the charitable institutions for which the city was trustee had been jumbled together, till 17,000*l.* was owing to those institutions. And very strong language is used about a debt of 100,000*l.* incurred for the canal. The Commissioners doubt the prudence of undertaking the work at all, and specially condemn the plan actually adopted. The Chamber is blamed for neglecting the quay at Topsham, and for allowing the river to be choked up. Trade was not increasing; merchants complained of the town dues, from which freemen were exempt. Herein comes the special position of an oligarchy within an oligarchy. The freemen were a privileged body; but in 1835, out of 28,285 inhabitants in the municipal and 33,552 in the parliamentary borough, their number was only 586.

The freedom could be still obtained only in the ancient ways: no amount of residence went for anything, and none but freemen and freeholders had the parliamentary franchise. And in a city which was at once a seat of trade and a favourite place of residence, the privileged order, patricians of the commonwealth in political position, were often far from holding a corresponding social rank. It is perhaps not wonderful that the parishioners of the adjoining parishes of Heavitree, Saint Leonards, and Saint Thomas, requested the Commissioners that they might not be included within the city boundaries.

Besides their share in the parliamentary franchise, the only political power still kept by the whole body of freemen was the right of choosing the Mayor from two candidates named by the Chamber. The Commissioners remark that the freemen commonly attended in considerable numbers, but that there had not been a contest for thirty years. Yet there must always have been so far a contest that one of the candidates named by the Chamber was chosen, and not the other. They remark that the same person was sometimes chosen Mayor four or five times. Yet, except in the anomalous case of Sir Thomas Jefford under James the Second, there had been no case of immediate re-election since the fifteenth century. Between 1800 and 1835 three men had served the office twice, but always with an interval. The Commissioners remark that the lawfulness of the self-election of the Chamber had been doubted, on the strength of the passage in the charter which spoke of an election 'according to the custom of the city of London;' but

they add, 'the practice has been, and is, for the common council themselves to elect.'

The Commissioners comment on the right of gaol delivery and the power of life and death possessed by the city magistrates, on the right of the city to the goods of felons, of which they give some curious instances. They also make the pertinent remark that, 'since the repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts, no Catholics or Dissenters have been admitted to the Corporation.'

The Municipal Reform Act of 1836, which reformed the English corporations of most of the larger English towns after one pattern, took away the ancient peculiarities of the city of Exeter. It has now a Town Council, formed of the Mayor, fourteen Aldermen, and forty-two Town Councillors, elected by the seven Wards. Being a county, it still keeps its Sheriff, who, like the Mayor and Aldermen, is chosen by the Council. The ancient Provost Court goes on, though the Bailiffs, representatives of the Provost, have vanished, and the judge of the court is now the Recorder, an officer appointed no longer by the Council, but by the Crown. The order of freemen, shorn of many of their privileges, still exists, and the eldest son of a freeman can now take up his freedom on coming of age, without waiting for his father's death.

The charitable foundations formerly connected with the Chamber still largely exist, to some extent under new shapes. By the Endowed School Commission of 1876 Saint John's Hospital was put under a governing body of its own. It still takes in the two elements of a grammar school and an 'elementary' school, the

old Blue School for orphans. Hele's school still exists under the same management, and Maynard's also, in the shape of a 'High School' for girls. Magdalen Hospital and the Ten Cells still go on as almshouses on new sites in the higher part of the city. So does Wynard's Hospital, where the Mayor and Aldermen still divide the appointment of the inmates with the owner of the founder's estate. Of the ancient trade companies that of the Weavers, Tuckers, and Shearmen alone survive, and that only for charitable purposes. The Tailors lived on till 1825; the others had vanished earlier. The trust funds of the Weavers are applied to apprenticing children, with a preference to those of Tuckers, and the property which the Company holds for its own purposes also goes in charity.

On the whole Exeter keeps as many traces of its ancient institutions as we could fairly look for, and even the great political reforms of this century have not wholly swept away its distinctive character. It is still the county of the city of Exeter, and a freehold in the county of Exeter gives no vote in the adjoining county of Devonshire. The two Reform bills, parliamentary and municipal, brought in a wholly new principle at Exeter and at many other places. The rule of residence with a certain qualification was set up alongside of the ancient municipal franchise, differing in different places according to local custom or charters. The Parliamentary Reform Bill of 1832, while leaving the franchise to freemen and freeholders, extended it to all ten-pound householders within the parliamentary boundary. The further Reform Act of 1867 extended

it to all householders. Lastly, the Act of 1885 cut down the ancient city from two representatives to one. A blow to old associations like this hardly seems to be counterbalanced by any such practical gain as that which attended the breaking down of exclusive privileges. Still nothing can show better the changed position of the ancient English towns than a reform which gives nine representatives to Liverpool, four to Bristol and Kingston-on-Hull, and over sixty to modern London, while the old historic London is cut down to two, and Exeter, no less old, no less historic, keeps one only. It further supplies a marked historic contrast between Britain and Gaul, when we think that a French Reform Bill, designed on the same principle, whatever it might have given to modern Havre-de-Grace and Saint-Etienne, could have had no excuse for taking anything away from immemorial Burdigala and Massalia.

On the ecclesiastical side also the traces of antiquity have by no means wholly vanished. The close still, as in the days of John Shillingford, remains for some purposes of administration, distinct from the rest of the city. And Exeter, city and diocese, has had in later times a somewhat stirring ecclesiastical history. It is needless to go through all the bishops of the dull days of the English Church, especially in a see like Exeter, most of whose prelates were mere birds of passage. After Blackall there are few bishops whose name suggests any idea. George Lavington (1747–1762), the author of 'The Enthusiasm of Methodists and Papists Compared,' has perhaps the best chance

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of being remembered. We know not how Lavington grappled with a third form of theology which seems to have stirred up some curiosity in the local mind. There sprang up, among the remains of Saint Nicolas priory, a place of worship which is described as

> a large dissenting Meeting-house ; a plain and neat building, it is commonly called the *Arian Meeting*. The congregation is very numerous, and though they dissent in some particulars from their Presbyterian brethren, it does not appear that they follow the doctrine of Arius

But whatever the Bishops of Exeter were in the last century, the names of their successors in our own day are certainly not names without meaning. Henry Phillpotts and Frederick Temple, unlike in many things, are at least alike in being men of mark and energy, who have as good a claim to a place in the history of the city and diocese as Leofric or Grandison. The long episcopate of Bishop Phillpotts (1831–1869), if marked by disputes and litigation, was marked also by an ecclesiastical revival which has had an effect far beyond the bounds of the diocese. It is hard to believe that, so lately as 1848, the use of the surplice in the pulpit caused a riot in the parish of Saint Sidwell, almost as fierce as the old disturbances for lack of bread. Bishop Phillpotts however seldom lived in the city; his successor has begun a new line of resident bishops. Up to Bishop Temple's election, the process which has so largely equalized episcopal incomes had not been applied to Exeter; the small revenues of the see were commonly eked out by some other preferment. As early as Bishop Blackall's time the deanery of Saint Burian had been again separated from the see; he

procured the treasurership of the church of Exeter to be annexed as a *commendam*. The Bishop thus somewhat strangely became a member of his own chapter. But some other office was often held as well; thus Bishop Phillpotts held a prebend of Durham till his death. The income has now been raised; and, yet more, the bad side of the work of Leofric has been undone; the western diocese has been divided, and the bishopric of Cornwall has been revived. Its bishop-stool is placed in a new site at Truro, but there is as yet no fully constituted chapter.

The modern capitular history of Exeter has been singularly memorable. Bishop Phillpotts was one of the first bishops to make use of his chapter for diocesan purposes. During his time came the remarkable litigation about the Exeter deanery. That office, it will be remembered, was created by an act of the chapter confirmed by the bishop; the chapter, under the bishop's licence as patron, elected one of their own number as their head. The Crown was not patron, and was in no way concerned. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, very likely earlier, a custom came in by which the Chapter elected a person recommended by formal letters from the Crown. This was nothing more than the way in which the Crown constantly interfered with the rights of patrons and electors of all kinds, and there was not, as, since Henry the Eighth's time, there was in the case of a bishop, any legal obligation to elect the Crown nominee. Charles the Second went a step further, and began to appoint to the deanery by letters patent, as if it had been in the gift of the Crown, and requiring the Chapter, not to *elect*, but only to *admit*.

The Chapter always *elected* the person named. If he were not one of their body, it was easy for the Bishop to collate him to the prebend vacated by the late dean; then he was first called into residence, and then elected dean. For a groundless notion prevailed, arising most likely out of the vulgar use of the word *canon*, that the choice, though made by the whole Chapter, must be made among the residentiaries. At last, by a strange combination of circumstances, a nomination was made to which the Chapter could not statutably consent. In 1839 the Crown, under the administration of Lord Melbourne, nominated by letters patent Lord Wriothesley Russell, who was not a member of the Chapter. Nor could he be, as usual, made one, for the power of the Bishop to collate to prebends and that of the Chapter to call into residence were then suspended by law. The Chapter therefore declined to accept an illegal nomination. Other letters patent were then sent in favour of Mr. Thomas Grylls, a prebendary of the church. The Chapter declined to elect him, on the inadequate ground that he was not a *residentiary*. A special act of Parliament was then passed suspending the act of suspension in the case of candidates for deaneries. The letters patent too were withdrawn, and a mere recommendation sent instead, as had been done before the time of Charles the Second. The Chapter however made a free election, and chose their Præcentor, Mr. Thomas Hill Lowe, who was a residentiary. Litigation followed; but the right of the Chapter was established in the Court of Queen's Bench, and Mr. Lowe kept the deanery for life. But an Act of Parliament was passed by which for the future all deaneries of the old

foundation were to be in the absolute appointment of the Crown, like those of the new foundation. Another remarkable event in the capitular history was the ineffectual opposition made to the election of Dr. Temple as Bishop in 1869.

By the Ecclesiastical Duties and Revenues Act the Chapter of Exeter, like the corporation of the city, was remodelled. The number of canons or prebendaries is untouched; but four only, not reckoning the Dean, can now be called into residence at a time, and the power of calling into residence is transferred to the Bishop. The College of Vicars now consists of four priest vicars and eight laymen. The other collegiate foundation in Exeter, the prebendaries of the castle chapel, still kept two of its members till 1863. Now one only survives, the prebend of Carswell, attached to the vicarage of Broad Clyst. But the prebendary is still inducted within the walls of Rougemont.

The ecclesiastical buildings of Exeter have in late times gone through a good deal of destruction and restoration. The removal of the Treasurer's house, which plays its part in the story of Henry the Seventh's visit, must have been lamented by the antiquary; but it threw open the whole view of the church on that side. But nothing can be said for the destruction of Broadgate, the chief gateway of the close, leading from the High Street. The Vicar's Close has greatly suffered. It followed the same type as that at Wells, on a smaller scale, two rows of houses with a hall and chapel. Buildings of this class are sure to suffer, as the collegiate life dies out, as the numbers are lessened, and as marriage is allowed. The close at Wells has suffered from the

throwing of two or more houses into one, and the destruction of most of the ancient windows. But this at Exeter has suffered yet more from a wanton piece of havoc, the utter destruction of the houses on one side.

The fabric of the cathedral church has gone through a large amount of restoration; but the general character of the building has not been destroyed to the same extent as in many other places. The wooden spire on the north tower was taken down in 1750; its fellow had gone already. The pews in the nave, a legacy from the days of East and West Peter's, vanished in 1832; the nave remained empty and, it may be, swept; in later days it has been again garnished with congregations. But there comes the difficulty which comes in every great church which keeps an ancient and solid roodscreen. At Lichfield and Hereford, where there was no barrier entitled to any respect, nave and choir can each do its own work. But, with a screen like that of Exeter, the point is harder. The great number of divided churches in old times might suggest that there is, after all, something to be said for an East and a West Peter's, though they need not be again divided by a 'Babylonish wall.'

Of the parish churches little need be said. The rebuilding of Saint Mary Major, with a spire of Northamptonshire fashion, has oddly changed the look of that part of the close. But the new All Hallows on the Wall was, in its general outline, a decided success, and has distinctly improved the general view of that part of the city.

On the whole, during the latter part of the eight-

teenth century and the early part of the nineteenth, Exeter fully kept up its character as a local capital, the frequent resort and occasional dwelling-place of the chief families of the surrounding county, and a favourite place of residence for those who are attracted by a town enjoying special social advantages. It united something of the character of a watering-place with far greater local importance than that of any mere watering-place. Bath, as a self-contained seat of society, has been far more famous than Exeter; but Bath never was a local centre in the same way that Exeter still is. Exeter, besides being Exeter, has always been emphatically the capital of Devonshire; Bath, in its corner, fluctuating between Wessex and Mercia, has never been the capital of Somerset. At once a free city and the head of a large district, a seat of society and a seat of trade and manufacture, Exeter might seem to combine all the elements of civic greatness. But no town, especially in so small a country as ours, can bear up against the centralizing tendency of the day, unless its position is based on some very firm commercial or manufacturing basis. Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, can hold their own against London—not as rivals of London, but as towns of a class wholly different from London. The two lines of railway which unite Exeter with the rest of England were hailed with delight by its citizens. They have really helped to lower its position. The age of local capitals, in the old sense, is past. As a mere place of resort, an inland city is now less attractive than various places on the sea, some in its own neighbourhood. And the trade and manufacture of Exeter, if they have not quite

vanished, have been utterly outstripped by those of towns which were hardly heard of in days when Exeter was already a famous city. A picture of the brightest days of modern Exeter can come only from a local pen. To the general historian the history of the city is one of the deepest interest, alike in points in which its history is typical of the older English cities, and in points peculiar to itself. The city which has sat on its hill as a dwelling-place of men, with an unbroken life of more than eighteen hundred years—the city by the side of which most of the capitals of Europe are things of yesterday—can hardly sink, like some of its fellows, to be a forsaken ruin or a common market-town. Still, Exeter is emphatically a city of the past. Not only the great gulf by the Thames that swallows up all things, but Liverpool, Manchester, Brighton, its own neighbour Torquay, have left Exeter far behind in the several elements of its compound life. But the city in which Briton and Englishman have an equal share, the city which has stood so many sieges at the hands of so many enemies—the city which received one William at its eastern gate and the other at its western—the city which still keeps at least the successors of the wall of Æthelstan, the minster of Leofric, the castle of Baldwin, and the guild-hall of Shillingford—the one English city in which a Lord of the World has sat as a local lord, needing the approval of the lord of another world to confirm his acts—such a city as this can never lose its historic charm. A typical English city, alike in its greatness and in its practical fall from greatness, but more than an English city in its direct connexion with two states

of things more ancient than the English name in Britain—the city alike of Briton, Roman, and Englishman, the one great prize of the Christian Saxon, the city where Jupiter gave way to Christ but where Christ never gave way to Woden—British Caerwisc, Roman Isca, West-Saxon Exeter, may well stand first on our roll-call of English cities. Others can boast of a fuller share of modern greatness; none other can trace up a life so unbroken to so remote a past.

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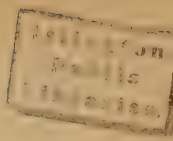

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